

The Congregational Quarterly

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THE CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY is published on the 20th of March, June, September, and December, each quarter, for the Congregational Union of England and Wales, by Independent Press Ltd. It may be obtained from the publishers at 3s. 6d. a copy (plus postage), or 13s. 6d. per annum post free, or from any bookseller at 3s. 6d.

All contributions (typewritten where possible) should be addressed to the Rev. J. Mills Phillips, Independent Press Ltd., Memorial Hall, London, E.C.4, with stamped envelope for return in case of non-acceptance.

VOL. XXIX. No. 2

APRIL, 1951

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The Congregational Quarterly

EDITORIAL

We print in this issue an article on the new Roman Catholic doctrine of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, now infallibly defined in the papal bull, *Munificentissimus Deus*. Whatever truth may lie in the suggestion of the Roman Catholic apologists mentioned by Dr. Micklem, that the new doctrine confronts the false materialism of Marxist communism by the 'true materialism' of the new doctrine, the timing of the definition is bound to have an effect upon those whose hopes have been roused by the Ecumenical Movement, which must now be confined in hope as in fact to the Protestant churches of the world. There have been, indeed, many warnings that the acceptance of the Roman obedience is an essential condition of recognition of Christian churchmanship by the Vatican, including a recent statement by Cardinal Griffin. This so directly denies the presence and power of the Holy Spirit in Protestant churches through the centuries of their existence that the question must be regarded as closed. We must do the work to which we believe we have been called of God, accepting the fact that many whom we are willing to regard as Christian churchmen do not so regard us. This is not to say that our hopes have been high of any immediate outcome from the efforts during the last fifty years to find a common basis for the churchmanship of Protestant, Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches.

There is, however, a real unity of all those who have the spirit of Christ. These recognize one another, whatever their differences of race or colour or intellectual apprehension or ecclesiastical organization. These are they who have put on the new man . . . where there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman, freeman: but Christ is all and in all.

* * *

If in this matter we had few hopes to be cheated, we are brought much nearer our real concerns by the Report of the *Conversations* which was summarized at length in these notes in our last issue. The Cambridge sermon of the Archbishop of Canterbury was read with great respect. It aroused widespread interest. It invited

the closest scrutiny for the elucidation of its proposals and their implications. The Report is as plain a statement as perhaps could be expected of the results of the study of representatives of the churches immediately concerned. We need not say that all who took part in these *Conversations* are known to be deeply anxious to bring the churches closer together. Our own Congregational representatives, Dr. Micklem and the Reverend K. L. Parry, have led the thoughts of the denomination in this direction for many years. Dr. Micklem has written for us an exposition of Congregationalism and Episcopacy (I.P. 1s.) to accompany the Report, and many of us will remember Mr. Parry's impassioned plea from the chair of the Union to the Anglican Church "to make it impossible for us to remain out". (That address inspired a little book of essays on Congregationalism entitled *The Fourth Freedom* which we have some personal reason to think was unduly neglected.)

* * *

WE come into discussion therefore not as contumacious non-conformists, but as Free Churchmen who believe that freedom is less a virtue than the condition of all virtues, that the bondsman of Christ is he who has surrendered his liberty to Christ and only to Him. But we are also aware that the divisions in the church, if not always 'unhappy', may be a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence both within and without the household of faith. We do well, however, to 'consider the variety of human nature', as Kant bade us. Men vary in many ways, physically, intellectually, spiritually. It is likely that they will vary in their ecclesiastical as in their political organizations. Variety need not be a source of weakness and may be a source of strength, especially when humility, toleration and respect for the individual conscience are held to be virtues. The same Spirit of God offers His inspiration to all willing to receive it, but even good men differ in their powers of apprehension and in their interpretations and applications of the same revelation. Is it likely that throughout the world-wide church of Christ there will be the same understanding of the same creed or the same administration of the same office? This has not been so in Christian history or in the development of Christian thought, even within what may be regarded as the same organization. It is absurd to think that the modern Roman Catholic believes precisely what his medieval counterpart believed even though they may recite the same office, or that all the members of the same church throughout the world understand the same things by the words they use. Nevertheless, there is an overwhelming case for such unity as leaves men free to respond to the spirit of God. But union with the Roman Catholic Church, as we have seen, demands a price neither they nor we are willing to pay.

WITHIN the Protestant churches the varieties, though less fundamental than divide them from the Roman Catholic Church, are none the less real. The attitude towards the State, for example, among the Lutherans is not identical with that of the Calvinistic churches, and there are other points of difference. What seemed so hopeful at first reading of the Cambridge sermon was that it suggested a new approach towards reunion through the mutual recognition of the churchmanship of various denominations. It is an approach we Congregationalists gratefully welcome. We recognize as brethren in Christ all who love Him in sincerity and truth; we invite them to worship and work with us: we are ready to worship and work with them. We leave to each man's conscience the right to formulate his faith on the one condition that he accepts as we do the unique revelation of the nature of God, His purpose in creation, His saving activity in Jesus Christ and the working of His Spirit in the hearts of men as revealed in the Scriptures. On that foundation we build and leave others to build—gold, silver, costly stones, wood, hay, stubble.

* * *

INVITATIONS to union have sometimes troubled us because the suggested basis of union is more limited. And we have been unable to proceed because we cannot believe it to be in accordance with the will of God for us to deny the universality of the freedom and responsibility which we believe to be part of the glory and the passion we share with our Lord, freedom not to do our own will but the will of Him who sends us, freedom to possess our own souls in order to surrender them to Christ. Never in recent history was it more important for ourselves and our children and for those who depend upon us that this high doctrine should be defended, maintained and, if God enable us, extended. All necessary discipline we will accept as individuals and churches, for we are engaged upon an enterprise very difficult, too difficult for any of us alone.

* * *

THUS, the results of the patient and rigorous scrutiny of the Archbishop's sermon as set out in the Report are to us profoundly disappointing. The new approach has led to the same familiar place of difficulty. We are asked, as the condition of recognition, 'to take episcopacy into our system'. We infer that the visible church of Christ in the world cannot be other than episcopalian. There is, however, no definition of episcopacy. Why was this not attempted during the conversations? If it was to be fundamental, it is a poor answer to say it was difficult. For whom then will it be easier; for us in our Church Meetings and Assemblies? Or are we to take something into our systems without clearly understanding

what it is? We are left to infer the place and functions of the bishops, and some guidance, it is true, is given us. Some of these episcopal functions would trouble us not at all. Episcopacy as an expression of the care of the whole Church for its scattered members, of all for each and each for all: as a vehicle of good order among churches in different environments: as a means of drawing together churches which in difficult times may tend to lose their sense of fellowship: these and much else we welcome, confessing our need. We believe in the organized Church and see no reason why it should not be well-organized. We have indeed taken Moderators into our system with an increasing appreciation of their value, and we have other offices of leadership which indicate that our independency is not, and never was, a self-contained isolation. It is true that independency has sometimes been misunderstood and misapplied. But that is true also of episcopacy. If we have learnt from the episcopal churches, as we have, it is not unreasonable to point out that they have learnt from us. (There is an approximation to the Church Meeting in some Anglican churches.)

* * *

BUT Moderators are not enough, even if the name is changed. For some indications may be gathered from the Report as to the required functions of the bishops. Ordination to the ministry is to be episcopal. There can be no minister of a local church except through ordination by a bishop acting on behalf of the whole church. This may seem to be no more than a change of emphasis in our accustomed procedure. But it may mean that the local church no longer ordains the minister it calls. If that is so, the "gathered church" would no longer exist.

* * *

THAT this lies at the heart of the matter becomes even clearer when we are reminded by the Report of a second, though less immediately urgent, function of the bishop, the confirmation or reception into the church of new members. No longer would new members be received into the local church, and thereby, as we believe, into the whole church of Christ by their own minister on behalf of the local church, but by the bishop.

It is plain that by "taking episcopacy into our system" we should not be making a concession in the interests of reunion. We should be changing our fundamental character as "gathered churches".

* * *

THE practical side of episcopacy as applied to Congregational churches is not, of course, the concern of the Report, and may very

well be left over. If it is right for us to become episcopalian, acceptable ways and means must and will be found. Two questions, however, arise immediately. Are the bishops to be appointed for life by the Assembly—in which case they will cease to be responsible to the Assembly, and gradually—as perhaps is the intention—the bishops would attract to themselves an authority which at present rests with the local churches and their various county and national assemblies, and which is distributed by consent. Would decisions of these bodies require the assent and be subject to the veto of the bishops? And who would decide such questions as the admission of women to the ministry? Some definitions will be necessary to enable us to proceed with our thinking. We are, of course, not pressed for early decision. A hasty refusal would seem to be discourteous. A hasty acceptance might involve us in difficulties we had not foreseen.

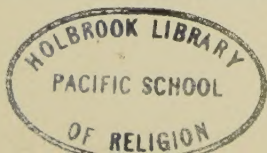
* * *

It is inconceivable that we British Congregationalists would take so important a decision without consultation with our brethren throughout the Commonwealth and in America. For though the Report tells us that by becoming episcopalian we should be able to be recognized by our Anglican brethren and should not be required to withdraw from communion with Freechurchmen throughout the world (which hardly needs to be stated), our responsibilities to them, our fellowship with them, are very precious to us, as we hope they are to them. We are now engaged in bringing into closer relationship the Congregationalists of the world. What so fundamentally affects us will not leave them indifferent. We should be surrendering none of our independence in consulting our brethren through the International Congregational Council.

* * *

NOR ought we to forget our place and influence in the Ecumenical Movement. In an article in the *Times* newspaper for 9th May, 1950, entitled 'The Gathered Church', occurs this passage:—

Historians and students of western democracy have been giving increasing attention to the influence of Congregationalism on the English and American way of life. Moreover recent developments on the Continent have led theologians and ecclesiastical leaders of very different schools of thought to show a more than sympathetic interest in this religious tradition. In a paper presented to the first Assembly of the World Council of Churches, Dr. Karl Barth quoted the late Friedrich Loofs as saying: "Who knows whether one day, when the national Churches of the Old World collapse, the Congregationalist form of Church order may not have a future among us?" "That may well have been a prophetic 'Who knows?'" commented Dr. Barth.



WE have inherited a treasure of spiritual liberty and responsibility. It is not only a possession but a trust. We claim no monopoly: others share it with us, wherein we greatly rejoice. But we have constructed a church order which preserves and transmits it. We affirm our desire to be united with all our Christian brethren and fellow-churchmen. We are invited "to take episcopacy into our system" in order to enable our Anglican brethren to regard us as we regard them. We will do everything we can that does not deny the truth we believe and whose disappearance would diminish the spiritual treasure of the Church and leave the future to recover a liberty we could not keep.

* * *

AMONG recent biographies, Mr. R. F. Harrod's *Life of John Maynard Keynes* takes a high place, partly because it is the story of a great man in a time of greatness and partly because it is a beautifully written tribute to a friend recently dead. It is an exposition and a defence of a great economist, one of the few great minds that has considered economics, the 'dismal science', to be worthy of its powers—and at the same time a brilliant portrait of remarkably complex character. It is probably not the definitive biography. Keynes' place in the history of economic thought cannot yet be estimated, but the historian of the future will lack the knowledge of shared intimacies and the friendship which so deeply moves Mr. Harrod. No student of our times can afford to miss it, though those who lack interest in the strange world of economic theory will be hard pressed in some chapters. But in the titanic struggle which this country—and so much else—so barely survived, economics played an immensely important part. Economic theories, though sometimes difficult for the casual reader, are now being understood to be of the very stuff of the life of nations.

* * *

THE general reader will appreciate the account of Bretton Woods and the formation of the International Bank and the negotiations for the American loan which kept Britain above the flood immediately after the war. Much is rightly said of American generosity, but Americans will be helped to realize the appalling weight of the financial burden which had accumulated upon us before the United States came in. We had paid for everything for ourselves and our allies so long as we had anything anywhere to pay with.

There are interesting glimpses of Keynes at Eton and much about his life at Cambridge as undergraduate, don and bursar of King's, which he greatly enriched. His literary and artistic interests were astonishingly varied and his intellectual energy phenomenal.

He came to economics almost by accident after a distinguished school and university career in classics and mathematics. No less apparently accidentally was he drawn into public affairs during the first war. At the Peace Conference he became famous for his heretical realism and his *Economic Consequences of the Peace* was a best seller as well as a literary *tour de force*. In the emergence of economics from what Sir Harold Butler has called 'the astrological stage' Keynes is already seen to have played a great part, and made possible if not yet probable the solution of political and economic problems on which depend civilized man's emergence from the fear of starvation and war.

His *Two Memoirs* have been commented upon already in these notes.

* * *

THOSE who already have on the shelf of books they do not lend Mr. Andrew Young's *Prospect of Flowers* will add his *Retrospect of Flowers* (Cape, 10s. 6d.). Mr. Young, like Richard Jefferies, protests he is no botanist and claims once to have silenced a supper table of learned men by asking if anyone had ever seen a dead daisy, which is a rarer sight than a dead donkey. He tells us that one day driving with a lady in the Cotswolds, she suddenly asked, "Do you collect barns?" For a moment he thought her reference was to editions of the poet Barnes. Then he understood and replied, "Not only barns, but churches and villages, streams, woods and mountains". And that is how he collects—or he suggests, recollects—wild flowers. He holds that if Wordsworth was right in thinking

that every flower

Enjoys the air it breathes

he was wrong in saying

Pull the primrose, Sister Anne,

Pull as many as you can.

And into what pleasant places and adventures he has been led, and to what pleasant discourse he comes in his book! There is much unexpected erudition, too. When Mr. Shinwell did not care 'a tinker's cuss' his hearers probably thought he was swearing. By no means. He was quoting Chaucer, who said of something he did not care for, "It is not worth a kers". But 'kers' is watercress, which was sold in the markets for trifling sums! There is also the strange case of the Canadian Waterweed, which a few years ago so spread through the waterways of the eastern counties as to call for Government action, which proved useless. It was said to consist of one vast plant extending through hundreds of rivers and canals. It is now, fortunately, dying of senile decay!

PURITANISM AND CAPITALISM¹

BY HERBERT G. WOOD, M.A., D.D.

NEARLY twenty years ago the Protestant Dissenting Deputies were addressed by Bernard Manning, whose death at a comparatively early age was a sad loss to the orthodox Dissent which he interpreted so ably and defended so loyally and to the University of Cambridge and the college, Jesus College, which he loved and served so well. At that time, surveying the relations of the Free Churches with the Established Church, he spoke of some present dangers and opportunities. In the course of his survey he devoted two short paragraphs to Marxist Communism as a force in public life militating against the persistence of favourable conditions for Reformed Religion in this country. It is with the further consideration of this theme that this paper is concerned.

The subject, "Puritanism and Capitalism", may not at first seem relevant to the menace of Marxism to our civil rights and the Reformed Religion. But in discussing the relation of Puritanism to Capitalism, I am raising the question, what was the true nature of the Good Old Cause, of which the Protestant Dissenting Deputies are the heirs and defenders? Unless I am mistaken, one serious menace of Marxism to our liberties and our faith takes the form of misinterpretation of the great Rebellion and the glorious Revolution. The Marxist assumes that the whole significance of these events lay in their hastening the transition from a feudal order of society to a capitalist order of society, that the political and religious issues were but the reflection of a clash of economic interests between classes which desired and classes which opposed such a change in the social order, and that Puritanism itself, alike in faith and morals, is of no importance except as a contributory factor in the rise of Capitalism. Let us consider this challenge.

In 1904 Max Weber published the essay on the Protestant Ethic and the spirit of Capitalism, which initiated the still vigorous discussion of the relation of Puritanism to Capitalism. Max Weber's main interest was in religious sociology. He was concerned to estimate the influence of varying religious beliefs on the social order. By the spirit of Capitalism he did not mean greed and ruthless profit-seeking, but the conception of one's business and daily work as a calling, involving what have been called "the bourgeois virtues of the independent producer—the simple life, industry, sobriety, frugality". It is quite obvious that Puritanism was a powerful influence in forming this character in the British people. The con-

¹ An address to the Protestant Dissenting Deputies, delivered on 2nd Nov., 1950.

conclusion to be drawn from Max Weber's thesis is that to explain the economic life of any period or any society we must look outside purely economic factors, and this conclusion raises the question whether the development or transformation of modern capitalism into a socialist or co-operative commonwealth is possible or desirable without a moral-religious revolution as intense and effective as the Puritan.

If this is the real interest of Max Weber's thesis, it is surprising to find a distinguished Oxford historian and a distinguished Free Church leader making the German sociologist responsible for the kind of misrepresentation of the great Rebellion now put forward by the Marxists. Mr. David Ogg in the fifth edition of his admirable *History of Europe in the Seventeenth Century* deals with the economic interpretation of the character and results of the Reformation—an interpretation which he says is growingly popular and 'which has behind it all the authority traditionally attached in England to the pronouncements of German historians'. From a parallel explicit reference in his memoir of Herbert Fisher, it is clear that Mr. Ogg has Max Weber in mind. "On this view, the Reformation was an expression, in the guise of religious terms, of the new capitalist spirit, of the revolt against the old canon law prohibiting usury, and the quest for new markets, of the commercial ambitions of the rising middle-classes, in fine, of that greedy amoral industrialism which has incurred such discredit in the 20th century. . . . Calvin is seen to have inaugurated a 'get rich quick' movement which, among other things accounted for the execution of Charles I whose solicitude for the poor was inconvenient to Puritan profiteers". Similarly in his book, *The Claims of the Free Churches*, Principal Henry Townsend tells us that in his famous essays Max Weber "initiated what has proved to be an extremely subtle attack on Calvin and the English Puritans, particularly on the Free Churches, the left wing of the Protestant movement. . . . Accepting Weber's thesis, Hilaire Belloc, G. K. Chesterton and other neo-Catholic apologists trace our political, social and economic miseries to Calvin as their source. Protestantism is said to be responsible for religious individualism, which begat in turn the greed, avarice and lust for money such as is (!) expressed in modern Capitalism".

So far as the major counts in this indictment are concerned Max Weber must certainly be acquitted. He cannot be held responsible for the extravagance of either neo-Catholic apologists or Marxists. He had no sympathy with the fashionable view that religious and political phraseology in the 17th century was merely a blind or disguise for motives of economic class interest. But since this view now holds the field, it behoves us to examine it. If it be true the Good Old Cause for which we stand is for ever discredited.

We are indebted to another Oxford historian, Mr. Christopher Hill, for the best, though still tentative, exposition of this Marxist interpretation of 17th century England, which is contained in three essays on *The English Revolution 1640*, edited by Mr. Hill, the longest coming from his pen; and also to the preface to an excellent source-book entitled *The Good Old Cause*. From Mr. Christopher Hill we learn that fundamentally the Civil War was a class-conflict. "It is not, indeed, denied that the 'Puritan Revolution' was a religious as well as a political struggle; but it was more than that. What men were fighting about was the whole nature and future development of English society". As Defoe recognized, the war had been primarily a struggle over property. In other words, the struggle was fundamentally about economic interests, and the religious and political conflicts reflected the economic conflict. "The dispute over monopolies illustrates the *real* character of the English Revolution, since in these disputes we have the antagonism of two types of economic organization—the large-scale exclusive enterprise, often in the hands of a courtier, and the small struggling businesses of the Puritan bourgeoisie, threatened with extinction by the more privileged and powerful organizations". The use of the term 'real' is revealing. According to the Marxist you touch reality only when you deal with economic organization. To this reality religion and politics are subordinate. Listen to Mr. Hill again. "The fact that men spoke and wrote in religious language should not prevent us realizing that there is a solid content behind what are apparently purely theological ideas. Each class created and sought to impose the religious outlook best suited to its own needs and interests. But the real clash is between these class-interests; behind the parson stood the squire". He might have added more truly, behind the Puritan lecturer stood the bourgeois business man. Similarly the political issue is found to reflect the same clash of class-interests. "Very briefly summarized, our subject here (in *The Good Old Cause*) is the story of how one social class was driven from power by another, and how the form of State-power appropriate to the needs of the first was replaced by one appropriate to those of the second". In his study of the English Revolution, Mr. Hill gives us another somewhat lengthier summary of his thesis. "The English Revolution of 1640-1660 was a great social movement like the French Revolution of 1789. An old order that was essentially feudal was destroyed by violence, a new and capitalist social order created in its place. The Civil War was a class war, in which the despotism of Charles I was defended by the reactionary forces of the established Church and feudal landlords. Parliament beat the King because it could appeal to the enthusiastic support of the trading and intellectual classes in town and countryside, to the yeomen and progressive gentry, and to wider masses of the popula-

tion whenever they were able by free discussion to understand what the struggle was really about"².

The Marxist claims to be giving us a more profound understanding of events than the well-known Whig interpretation. That interpretation says "that the Parliamentary armies were fighting for the liberty of the individual and his rights in law against a tyrannical Government that threw him into prison without trial by jury, taxed him without asking his consent, billeted soldiers in his house, robbed him of his property and attempted to destroy his cherished parliamentary institutions". Now all this, Mr. Hill admits, is true, —as far as it goes, but he claims it does not answer such further questions as, why did the King become tyrannical? why did the landed and commercial classes represented in Parliament have to fight for their liberties? The answer to those questions is that the King was striving to preserve the old feudal order of society, since he was a feudal landlord himself, and the classes represented in Parliament were struggling to advance the new capitalist order.

Mr. Hill claims both that the form of State which developed under the Tudors and was inherited by the Stuarts was adapted to the needs and interests of the feudal aristocracy or semi-feudal landowners, and also that the policy pursued by Charles I in the eleven years of personal rule was determined by the interests of this class. And naturally "the new class which grew up inside English feudal society to challenge the absolutist State was the bourgeoisie—merchants, industrialists, and those landowners who regarded their estates primarily as a source of money profits rather than as a means of maintaining feudal followers. Capitalism in England was largely rural".

Does this analysis really provide a deeper understanding of the events of the Civil War? Of course, there is some truth in it. Any civil war will be a class-conflict, though not necessarily a conflict between two clear-cut classes. No one need quarrel with Mr. Hill for appealing to Richard Baxter in this connection. Baxter noted that "a very great part of the knights and gentlemen of England . . . adhered to the King. . . . And most of the tenants of these gentlemen and also most of the poorest people, whom the others call the rabble, did follow the gentry and were for the King. On the Parliament's side were (beside themselves) the smaller part (as some thought) of the gentry in most of the counties, and the greatest part of the tradesmen and freeholders and the middle sort of men, especially in those corporations and counties which depend on clothing and such manufactures"³. It is quite clear from this analysis that the aristocratic landowners and the gentry did not act unitedly as a class. They were deeply divided not by economic and social

² *The Good Old Cause*, p. 9.

³ *ibid.*, p. 20.

interests but on political and religious issues, and if the majority held with the King, the minority cannot fairly be classed as 'bourgeois'. There was indeed no serious conflict of economic interests between the conservative semi-feudal landed aristocracy and the rising bourgeoisie. The financial difficulties of the semi-feudal gentry were due to their own extravagance and to the rise in prices resulting from the flow of Spanish gold and silver into Europe. It is typical of Marxist historians that in their obsession about class-conflict they ignore more important economic factors in history.

That the Civil War was a class-conflict in some sense and in some degree may be conceded. It is also obvious that the Civil War accelerated the transition from a feudal social order to a capitalist order, just as the two World-Wars have accelerated the transition from a capitalist to a socialist order of society. But this does not mean either that the Civil War was fought for the purpose of hastening that transition or that its effect in hastening it is for us the most important outcome of the struggle.

The parallel between the English Revolution of 1640-1660 and the French Revolution of 1789 is not really very close. In both cases a bankrupt absolute monarch is obliged to appeal to his people for financial aid, and eventually loses his head. Beyond this, the parallel halts. The Marxist suggestion is that in both cases you have a bourgeois revolt against a feudal social order which could only be changed by violence. We are expected to draw the conclusion that a similar change from capitalism to socialism can only be effected by violent revolution. But this is a complete misunderstanding of the great Rebellion. The old order that was essentially feudal did not exist in England in the 17th century and did not need a violent revolution to overthrow it. Many of the most serious abuses of the feudal order which continued in France till 1789 had been abolished in England before 1640. The transition began as far back at the Black Death in 1351 and was not fully accomplished till the Industrial Revolution and the Reform Bill of 1832.

The weakness of the Marxist analysis is apparent in Mr. Hill's assumptions regarding both the form of government in the 150 years preceding 1640, and the character and basis of the policy of Charles I. He assumes that the Tudor monarchy was a form of government suited to the needs and interests of the semi-feudal landed aristocracy. Actually the more or less absolute monarchy was developed, not to further the interests of the old feudal society, but to end the nuisance of the Wars of the Roses, to keep unruly barons in order. The Court of High Commission and the Star Chamber were created for this express purpose.

If the form of government was not designed in the interests of the semi-feudal landed aristocracy, the policy pursued by Charles I

during the eleven years of personal rule cannot be explained in this way either. Mr. Hill says, "Charles I's policy follows from the class-basis of his rule and of the support he received". But Mr. Hill goes on to say that "Charles's system proved a total failure and broke down of its own accord. The Government alienated all sections of the community". In other words Charles in his attempt to make himself absolute monarch had no clear, firm class-basis for his policy and no support from any class.

Mr. Hill's trump-card is of course the opposition to monopolies. As soon as the Long Parliament met it abolished monopolies and deprived monopolists of political rights. Does not this prove that the basic issue was economic and that Parliament's main concern was to set free capitalist development? The disputes over monopolies are supposed, as we have seen, to illustrate the *real* character of the revolution because in them the clash of two types of economic organization come to the surface. We are also asked to believe that the Crown imposed these new industrial controls, the monopolies, in the interests of the feudal land-owning class. When he makes this assertion Mr. Hill adds in brackets, "(and in the interests of a small court group of financiers and racketeers)". What he adds in brackets is true, what he asserts in his sentence is false. If the monopolies were in the interests of a small court group of financiers and racketeers, as they were, they could not have been and they were not in the interests of the feudal landowning class as a whole. And the feudal landowning class was aware of this, even if Mr. Hill is not. It was not in their interests to pay exorbitant prices for bad soap made by a group of Catholic financiers and courtiers. The main issue in this question of monopolies was political and constitutional, not economic. It was one of the ways in which the King sought to make himself financially independent of Parliament, and it was not in the interests of the feudal landowning class to make the King independent of Parliament in which they still had the dominant voice. The major economic interest was not the desire of the rising bourgeoisie to get a free field for investment, but the desire of the whole nation to get better goods at lower prices. Mr. Hill points out that through monopolies "a Court clique of aristocratic commercial racketeers and their hangers on were sucking the life-blood from the whole people". Obviously, then, Parliament acted in the interests of the whole people, not just in the interests of the rising bourgeois class. That the clash of interests between monopolists and free-traders was a factor in the controversy is true enough. That this indicates the real character of the English Revolution, in the sense of being the only issue of importance in the question of monopolies, is manifestly absurd.

The constitutional issue was paramount even in the question of monopolies. It was still more clearly paramount in the question of

Ship-money, and in the resolve of Parliament to abolish the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission which had been the chief instruments of personal rule. But the constitutional issue was somewhat obscure, and for that reason, among others, Marxists treat it as unimportant. Mr. Trevor Roper in his brilliant study of Laud seems to support this view when, outlining the Archbishop's ideals and the methods by which he sought to realize them, he says, "Here it is necessary to emphasize the comparative unimportance of the constitutional issue involved". He then refers to the failure of the Long Parliament to make a constitutional case against Strafford and Laud. "Though Laud might stretch the constitution, the constitution was itself too elastic to be broken". But this does not prove the constitutional issue to be unimportant. It only shows that the issue was difficult to define and still more difficult to resolve. It was a question not so much of interpreting the existing constitution as of determining the next step in its development. It was elastic. Charles and Laud were trying to stretch it in one direction, Pym tried to stretch it in another. When it came to open conflict, both sides claimed to be fighting for the same object. As Baxter says, "The King professed to fight for the subjects' liberties, the laws of the land, and the Protestant religion. The Parliament professed the same and all their commissions were granted for King and Parliament". It seems a paradox but it is undeniably true that both sides were fighting against the same thing. Both were fighting against tyranny, against arbitrary, irresponsible power. Parliamentarians were fighting against the autocratic authority claimed and exercised by the King, and the Royalists were fighting against autocratic authority assumed and exercised first by the House of Commons and later by military dictators. Both sides were fighting to ensure that Governments should be subject to law. On the Parliament side, this was clearly the main issue. If men objected to Laud's policy, they objected still more to the supersession of the Common Law and of their rights under the Common Law by the jurisdiction of the Court of High Commission through which the policy was enforced. But the same issue was raised by the action of the Commons in the impeachments of Strafford and Laud and later by the trial and execution of the King. The trial of Strafford was not unlike the judicial murder of Petkov in Bulgaria, and the trial of Laud affords a close parallel to the trial of Cardinal Mindzenty in Hungary, though the cases against Strafford and Laud were more substantial than the charges alleged in the more recent travesties of justice. With regard to the King, Mr. Hill says, "Another school of historians, which we may call Tory as opposed to the Whigs, holds that the royal policy was not tyrannical at all, that Charles I, as he told the Court which sentenced him to death, spoke, 'not for my own right alone, as I am your King, but for the true liberty of all my

subjects' ". Neither Mr. Hill nor the Tory historians, if he fairly represents them, appreciate the true significance of the King's attitude at his trial. He was not defending his policy in general. In refusing to acknowledge the right of an unconstitutional tribunal to try him by no law except resolutions amounting to *ex post facto* legislation, he was speaking not for his own right alone but for the true liberty of all his subjects. It was not an idle claim. He was at that moment standing for liberty as surely as his opponents were. And through the conflict and distress of the period 1640-1660 the nation groped its way forward to an agreed solution of the constitutional problem. That the Civil War hastened the transition from feudalism to capitalism is true and comparatively speaking unimportant. That the victory of Parliament secured a certain amount of self-government for the richer classes in society is true and again comparatively unimportant. What really matters to us is that as the outcome of the struggle certain limits were set to the arbitrary power of Government and certain constitutional guarantees for civil and religious liberty were established not for the benefit of any one class, but for the poorest 'he' as well as for the richest 'he' in England.

In his book on the Privy Council, Dicey wrote, "The Long Parliament committed errors and posterity has dwelt more on its mistakes than on its merits. Yet two deeds should have been alone sufficient to have preserved the fame of the patriots of 1640. Their noblest achievements were the establishment of regular law and the abolition of torture. The single assertion made by a careful enquirer that after 1640 no instance can be discovered of torture being employed is the Long Parliament's highest eulogy". The establishment of regular law and the abolition of torture were followed up in the Restoration by the Habeas Corpus Act and the securing of the freedom of juries by the trial of the Quakers, W. Penn and W. Meade, and at the subsequent Revolution by the establishment of religious toleration. And be it noted, all these advances came, not through war and violence, but through suffering, through the suffering of 2,000 ministers ejected from the Church of England in 1662, through the sufferings of many Dissenters, particularly Quakers, under the Clarendon Code, through John Bunyan's imprisonment, through the trial of the seven Bishops. The guarantees of personal freedom and respect for personality, won by suffering, are and were just as important for the proletariat as for the bourgeoisie, just as necessary in a socialist or communist order of society as in a capitalist order of society. If this be liberalism, it is not the product of capitalism in its expansive pre-monopolistic phase. The maintenance of such liberties is neither a peculiar class-interest nor yet a peculiar national idiosyncrasy. It is neither bourgeois nor British. It is an essential feature of any civilization that deserves to be called

Christian, and not one of these guarantees of personal freedom exists in any of the present dictatorships.

To some at least of the most clear-sighted observers and most deeply involved protagonists, the cause of civil liberty was subordinate to the cause of religious liberty. Men who fought on the Parliament's side fought not merely for the sake of civil rights, but in order that (within the shelter of civil rights) the cause of Reformed Religion might go forward. Richard Baxter says, "Though it must be confessed that the public safety and liberty wrought very much with most, especially with the nobility and gentry who adhered to the Parliament, yet was it principally the difference about religious matter that filled up the parliament's armies and put the resolution and vigour into their soldiers, which carried them on in another manner than mercenary soldiers are carried on"⁴. The Ironsides whose resolution and valour triumphed at Naseby were largely Independents who fought for religious liberty. Cromwell told Parliament in 1655: "Religion was not the thing the first contested for: but God brought it to that issue at last: and gave it unto us by way of redundancy; and at last it proved to be that which was most dear to us. And wherein consisted this more than in obtaining that liberty from the tyranny of the bishops to all species of Protestants to worship God according to their own light and consciences?"⁵ Just as the issue of slavery—the moral issue, not the clash of two different types of economic organization—lay behind the constitutional issue in the American Civil War, was in fact the real issue all along and came at last to the front, so in the Civil War in England the fundamental issue was religious. The Marxist claim that the religious issue was subordinate to the constitutional issue, which in turn was subordinate to the conflict of economic interests, is the exact reverse of the truth.

The Marxist attempt to belittle religious and civil liberties as belonging to bourgeois culture or as incidental to a phase of capitalist development must be exposed for the falsehood it is. The suggestion that religious ideas and institutions were but the cloak for class-interests must also be exposed. "Each class created and sought to impose the religious outlook best suited to its needs and interests. But the real clash is between these class interests: behind the parson stood the squire". Strictly speaking, no class ever does create a religious outlook. A class or the majority of a class may find a given outlook congenial, may embrace it, may mould it and seek to impose it, but no class ever created a religious outlook. The working-class did not create Marxism. It is not a proletarian philosophy. A large proportion of the workers is impressed and flattered by this particular religious outlook, but it was created by two highly sophisticated, thoroughly bourgeois minds. And so with Anglicanism and Puritan-

⁴ *Autobiography* (Everyman), p. 34.

⁵ *G.O.C.*, p. 322.

m. To suggest that the semi-feudal landowning class created Laud's type of High Anglicanism is ludicrous. No doubt the majority of the gentry preferred the Anglican liturgy to the Puritan sermon. It was less exacting. But Laud's parochial reforms stirred little interest in country squires and when Laud tried to force the liturgy on the Scots, not a squire stood behind him. Nor did the bourgeoisie create Puritanism. It would be truer to say that Puritanism created the bourgeoisie. But the appeal of Puritanism was not confined to the rising class, nor was it devised to promote their economic interests. As Bruno Meier said, "The important fact as far as the coming of capitalism is concerned is that 16th century society did not divide itself exclusively into the camps of Conservatives and Libertines. A third force intervened, born of the creative power of the lower aristocracy and the handicraft men: this was the movement towards moral reform—in other words, the Reformation. This was neither a purely intellectual movement nor a movement for the defence of the economic interests of these two classes. It gathered only a minority out of both classes and this minority was in the strongest opposition to the majority. It changed, however, the whole outlook of the spiritual life".

That Puritanism contributed to the rise of Capitalism is a fact which reflects no discredit on Puritanism. The main contribution of Puritanism to a changed economic and social order, lay in the idea of a man's daily work as a calling, and in insistence on the virtues of sobriety, simple living, frugality and industry. It has been well said that Puritanism brought asceticism out of the monastery into the home and the market-place. The ideal of a disciplined religious life, once the treasured, and at the time of the Reformation the neglected, tradition of monks and nuns was to be interpreted as a directive for ordinary men and women in their everyday pursuits.

The trivial round, the common task
Will furnish all we ought to ask,
Room to deny ourselves, a road
To bring us daily nearer God.

The great need of to-day is to rediscover this sense of our daily work as a calling, in which we serve our fellows and through which we come nearer God. And the so-called bourgeois virtues, sobriety, industry, thrift and the rest, are not bourgeois virtues, except in the sense that the bourgeoisie tended to overvalue them. They are just virtues, indispensable virtues, and our economy today is being undermined by the neglect of them.

To try to make Puritanism and the Free Churches responsible for all the evils that accompanied the Industrial Revolution is a

quite inexcusable prejudice. But clearly the Puritan tradition has not sufficed to preserve the moral health of an acquisitive society. Can it be that we need a movement to bring not only asceticism but also communism out of the monastery into the market-place? Are there not some features of monastic communism which need to be embodied in a Christian social order, for example, at least the assumption on the part of the community of responsibility for the maintenance of a minimum standard for all its members? A genuine worth-while revolution will not be accomplished by one class, following blindly its own selfish interests and securing a monopoly of power by violence. In the strife of Fascist and Marxist Communist, a third party must intervene, drawing together a minority, it may be, of members of many classes, uniting them in a creative social activity, and in a common loyalty to one Lord and Leader. After all, the Fifth Monarchy men were fundamentally right, however mistaken they were in seeking to embody Christ's rule in a kingdom of this world. They were right in asserting the sovereignty of King Jesus. He must reign.

In that interesting survey, *Eighty Thousand Adolescents*, we read: "One of the Westhill students—a young German doctor who had at one time been a member of Hitler Jugend, had fought in Hitler's armies and had been wounded on the Russian front, but who is now a convinced Christian, said on the eve of his return to Germany: The young people in your churches have everywhere received me with kindness and courtesy, but I am concerned about the casual quality of their faith; they do not give to Christ anything like the devotion we once gave to Hitler. They do not see the urgency of the situation".

The defensive rôle assigned to the Deputies of the Protestant denominations is still important. Eternal vigilance will always be required. But something more is demanded. They must see and help others to see the urgency of the situation, and prepare themselves for a creative, positive, moral offensive.

THE ASSUMPTION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY

BY NATHANIEL MICKLEM, M.A., LL.D., D.D.

In the year 1950 the Pope proclaimed the doctrine of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary as "a revealed dogma". The doctrine is that "Mary, the immaculate Mother of God, ever a Virgin, having finished the course of her earthly life, was taken up to the celestial glory with body and soul"¹.

The Pope is supposed to have spoken *ex cathedra*, that is, in his official capacity as vicar or plenipotentiary of Christ. Such utterances are infallible. I have never been quite sure whether the Pope infallibly knows when he is speaking infallibly, but if you are a Roman Catholic, you had better have no doubts in this case; the doctrine is now of the essence of the Christian faith; it is part of the Gospel; there are no greater and lesser doctrines; the new doctrine ranks with the doctrine of the Incarnation or of the Holy Trinity. The golden pen with which the Pope signed the decree is, I understand, on show in the Vatican Museum.

The notion of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary is not new. It has long been celebrated in the Roman ecclesiastical calendar, and many will be familiar with El Greco's splendid picture of it. Nor was the proclamation of the dogma last year a surprise. In 1946 the Pope consulted all the Roman bishops as to the timeliness of this gesture. It would appear that 94 per cent of the bishops replied, that only 22 of them expressed any doubts, and of these 18 were hesitant in respect of the timeliness of the proclamation and six in respect of the subject matter. This, by my indifferent reckoning, makes 24, not 22, but I rely upon "Junge Kirche"², which in its turn purports to rely on the "Osservatore Romano". It is plain that the Pope had the approval of the episcopate as a whole. What, I wonder, would have been the result had he, following a better medieval tradition, consulted not the bishops but the theologians? Particular enquiry was made of the hierarchy in England. Was the Pope so simple as to suppose that they would be especially well advised or tender in respect to the effect of the proposed proclamation upon Protestants?

¹ 'Immaculatam Deiparam semper Virginem Mariam, expleto terrestri vitae cursu, fuisse corpore et anima ad caelestem gloriam assumptam'. The bull *unificentissimus Deus*.

² 15th October, 1950.

I have not heard of any squeak of protest from within the Roman communion, but the Pope's utterance has not been well received outside. For the Orthodox Churches Professor Kovalevsky has said that "belief in the Assumption of the Holy Virgin has been common throughout the Church since the very earliest times"; he adds, however, that the date of the Feast of the Assumption was not fixed till the VIth century, and that the hymns for the occasion are not earlier than the VIIIth; moreover "a dogma, is, according to the Orthodox Church, 'a revealed truth, formulated by the Councils and accepted by the Church', which does not apply to the Assumption of the Virgin, as this rests neither upon a revealed truth nor upon a Scriptural reference"³. Protestant comment has been even less sympathetic. The German Evangelical Bishop pointed out that "this dogma is not only, like many another older dogma of the Church of Rome, an erroneous exposition of Apostolic doctrine, but one with no foundation whatever in the message of the Apostles, and hence entailing the detachment in principle of the Bishop of Rome from obedience to the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ"⁴. Dr. Pierre Maury, the distinguished French Protestant points out that, since infallibility was ascribed to the Pope, two additions have been made to doctrine, the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption of the Virgin, doctrines not concerned with God or Christ or the Holy Spirit, and that this new doctrine, to which the allegiance of the faithful is demanded, rests upon no evidence whatever but upon liturgical practice⁵.

Some Roman apologists, following a hint in the Papal bull, are maintaining that the new doctrine is the Christian answer to the Communists! This seems to rest upon the view that Marxism represents the wrong kind of materialism, while the bodily Assumption of the Virgin represents the true kind of materialism. Such pious morals may be extracted from the doctrine, but they are at best an ingenious afterthought. Popular Romanism is better represented by an article that Mr. Graham Greene, the novelist, wrote for the American journal, *Life*. "There is one saint in the calendar of the Church", he begins, "who has never been associated with the idea of punishment: even justice is alien to her, compared with the ideas of mercy and love. She is the one whom Catholics know as Our Lady . . . the only figure of perfect human love". He goes on to explain that "she is soul and glorified body (whatever that may be) in heaven (wherever that can be found)". We are not really dependent upon Scripture for our knowledge of her, since she has so often been seen; she is indeed "a woman of a hundred geographical titles— Lourdes, La Salette, Carmel, Fatima, Guada-

³ Ecumenical Press Service, Geneva, 24th November, 1950.

⁴ 10th November, 1950.

⁵ *Junge Kirche*, 15th October, 1950.

pe, Lima". She is, I am afraid, in fact a goddess of many names and many forms, for she "appeared to Bernadette as a girl little older than herself, to the children of Fatima as a woman, to an Indian as an Indian."

What are we to say to all these things? At the editor's behest I was planning to attempt some theological comments when I discovered that the task had already been done far better than I could do it by a group of German theologians. I shall not directly quote much from their document⁶, but I gladly acknowledge my large dependence on it. Professor Edmund Schlink is the editor; with him have been associated four other Heidelberg professors, of whom Dr. Peter Brunner is probably the best known outside Germany. The group did not consist of "fanatical" Protestants. On the contrary they seem to be men who are anxious for a better understanding between the churches, and who prepared their document in the hope that it might be considered by the Roman Catholics before the die was cast.

First, then, by general agreement the New Testament knows nothing of the Assumption of the Mother of our Lord. We may assert with complete confidence that such a doctrine had no place in the faith preached by the Apostles. For the silence of the New Testament is matched by the silence of tradition through the first five centuries. Nor will it do to say that the doctrine was handed down secretly; for not only does Epiphanius expressly state that nothing certain was known of the end of the Virgin Mary; but other fathers such as St. Athanasius, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine make so much of Christ's resurrection as unique that quite obviously they did not believe in the Assumption of his Mother⁷. It would appear, further, that though the festival of the Assumption certainly goes back to the VIth century or possibly even earlier, the words used do not necessarily or naturally involve a bodily resurrection and a bodily assumption; indeed, down to 1568 the Roman Catholic breviary quoted the words of pseudo-Jerome to the effect that the Church did not know what happened to the body of the Virgin after her death, and to this day there is nothing in the Missal that necessarily involves the doctrine of the bodily assumption⁸.

The glorification of the body of the Virgin and its transport to heaven, if these events occurred at all, took place in the course of history, and for our belief in such extraordinary happenings some historical evidence is necessary. There is none. Theological or

⁶ *Evangelisches Gutachten zur Dogmatisierung der leiblichen Himmelfahrt Mariens*, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München, 1950.

⁷ Far from my books at the moment, I am in this sentence dependent on Dr. Schlink, who gives no references.

⁸ *op. cit.*, p. 9.

speculative considerations are no substitute for evidence. The cult of the Virgin as practised in the Roman Church would equally have been satisfied with the view either that her soul had been carried to heaven at her death, or that she had never died but been carried up to heaven like Elijah. The Roman Church has now asserted, however, that the bodily assumption of the Virgin is a mighty act of God parallel to the Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord; it is declared to be an essential element in the Gospel, and it rests upon nothing but pious imagination.

It is quite true that in all formal Roman theology the Virgin Mother is not a goddess; she is to be revered, but she is not to be worshipped as God; she is a created being. But in popular Romanism she is to all intents and purposes a goddess. As Dr. Schlink puts it, "If Jesus Christ is free of original sin, so also is Mary; if Jesus Christ rose bodily and ascended to heaven, so did Mary; if Jesus Christ is Lord and King, so is Mary Lady and Queen; if Jesus Christ is Mediator and Redeemer, so is Mary mediatrix and co-redemptrix".

Such additions cannot be made to the Gospel without altering its very nature. When so much that hitherto has belonged to Christology only is transferred to the Virgin Mary, we begin to view with different eyes the Work of Christ and the Incarnation itself.

At the time of the Reformation it might be said that the Protestants and Roman Catholics differed in their interpretation of that Apostolic testimony which both sides regarded as the sole basis of the Church's teaching. But now, as Dr. Schlink and his colleagues say, the situation seems to be radically altered. The Roman Church has in fact abandoned the testimony of the Apostles as its sole basis. This means that the claim of the Roman Church to apostolicity is to be fundamentally questioned. For apostolic tradition cannot be produced like this. The new doctrine is the dogmatic assertion of a pious myth as a fact of history and an act of God.

It may be pretended here and there that the new doctrine is an answer to Communism. It is not that. It is the Roman Church's answer to the Ecumenical Movement; it is that Church's No. It would not be at all surprising if this action were taken by the Pope against his better judgment, but there can now be no going back.

Protestants must take to themselves some blame. The best answer to false doctrine is true doctrine, and Protestants both in their preaching and teaching have tended to a great silence about the Mother of our Lord. How many sermons have been preached in these last half hundred years from Congregational pulpits upon the theme, "Hail, thou that art highly favoured; the Lord is with

see; blessed art thou among women"? We hail Christ as very God of very God, and she was his Mother, related to him as none other could ever be; she was the "Bearer of the eternal Word". But he is a figure not of mythology but of history, who said, "Be it unto me according to thy Word"; that is the language of justifying faith.

These are difficult days for the Christian faith. We would not avoid the scandal of the Cross; we are not ashamed to declare the mystery of the Incarnation. But the task of proclaiming the Gospel is made much harder if the Gospel is associated with mythology and fantasy. Moreover, by this new doctrine the sole mediatorship of Christ is put in question.

ECCLESIASTES AND THE CHRISTIAN PREACHER

AN EXERCISE IN SERMON-PREPARATION

BY JAMES STEWART, M.A., B.D.

THE character of a book of the Bible obviously must determine its use in the making of sermons. If we are to get help from *Ecclesiastes*, we must first be quite clear as to its character and purpose.

It is essentially a negative book. Standing apart from the main lines of Biblical thought, it contains nothing or little that is inspiring or edifying in a positive way. S. R. Driver's opinion was that its "teaching, as a whole, if followed consistently, would tend directly to paralyse human effort, to stifle every impulse to self-denial or philanthropy, to kill all activity of an ennobling or unselfish kind"¹. The judgments of other scholars are not less severe. Positive Christian truth such as a preacher may set forth with joyful confidence is not to be found among the doubts, regrets and denials of *Ecclesiastes*. The theme of the book is Despair.

A qualification may be made. Driver suggests it with his cautious limiting phrase "as a whole." The book does not hold consistently that the darkness enveloping human life is absolute. Occasional gleams of light make an effort to disturb the shadows.

These mitigations require attention. They come from two sources. *Ecclesiastes* in its present form bears evidence of composite authorship, some portions being additions to an earlier book. This latter work, which makes up the greater part of our *Ecclesiastes*, came from an author whose name is unknown and who, for the sake of convenience, is often referred to by his Hebrew title of Koheleth, the Preacher, Speaker or President. Some of the attempts to lighten the darkness come from this writer. The gloom is his, for he is a pessimistic questioner of the orthodox faith of Israel and he has no high estimate of humanity; and yet there is a certain reluctance about his pessimism. He will not allow it to keep him in the place it has prepared for him. He does not, though he should, rate vice as the equal of virtue; he stops short of advising suicide as the way of escape from misery; and he refrains from preaching atheism and the abandonment of religious practices. Further, and more positively, he seems occasionally² to revolt against his own philosophy and to hint at a way of living

¹ *Literature of the Old Testament* (1913), p. 472.

² ii: 24 f; v: 1-7; xi: 1-10, etc.

that is worth while. But these attempts at amelioration make little difference to the gross darkness where his reasoned convictions are at home. They are from his heart, and his head has already spoken their refutation. They are intrusions, hopeful but forlorn, into the scheme of things which reason has worked out.

In addition to Koheleth's own objections to his pessimism, there are others from a different source. Of the additions to the original book of Koheleth which have been mentioned, some³ were made by a man—or by men—who lived by the traditional faith of Israel. Appalled by the blasphemies of the earlier writer, he—or they—inserted in his work the protests and denials on which offended piety insisted. But it cannot be said that these declarations of faith (which the International Critical Commentary conveniently prints in capital letters) are very convincing. Their presence, and the presence of Koheleth's own protests, must be considered remarkable—remarkable enough to provide almost a complete theme for a sermon; but their matter accomplishes little. They do not refute the bitter arguments of Koheleth: rather do they intensify the darkness in which he stands. Beyond their candle-light is cold, tragic gloom. The end of Koheleth's thinking is that the man who is dead is better off than the man who is alive—and that more fortunate than both is the man who has not been and never will be born.⁴ In this teaching about the futility of human life the Christian is not likely to find anything that he may proclaim as good news. If he quotes from the book, he must at the same time hold his hands high in horror. *Ecclesiastes* is for him completely negative—a collection of dreadful warnings. It is the scriptural book of Cautionary Sketches.

But the notice-board which reads "Keep Out" also suggests that walking is permitted elsewhere. A comparison of the two areas will teach much about reasons, uses, penalties and enjoyments. Now, *Ecclesiastes* is as plain a "No Road" notice as man could have. Fairbothor and Scott describe it as "a proof of the impossibility of gaining a strong or hopeful view of life that does not rest on faith in God and His love,"⁵ while Fr. Hebert considers its function in the Canon to be the demonstration of how "every attempt of man to achieve salvation for himself must end in disillusionment."⁶ But the Christian preacher knows also the view of life that does rest on faith in God and His love, and he has experience of the salvation that was achieved for man. If he compares and contrasts the forbidden with what is to be desired, his understanding of both is likely to be increased. This then is the place of *Ecclesiastes* in the equipment of the Christian preacher:

³ ii: 26; iii: 17 f; viii: 11-13, etc.

⁴ iv: 1-3.

⁵ *Literature of the Old Testament*, p. 174.

⁶ *The Throne of David*, p. 246 n:1.

itself renounced, it may clarify the articles of his faith, deepen his knowledge of human nature and increase his power to express his positive convictions to others.

What follows is an attempt to show how this may be done by the sermon-writer. Admittedly an exercise in method and adaptation, it may be accused of taking unjustified liberties with the book. But the charge, if made at all, must not go further than the form and structure, for the treatment does no violence at all to the ideas which *Ecclesiastes* sets out. And, if the exercise makes for deeper understanding of the spiritual life and greater power of expression, any small offence that is committed may well be considered purged.

The one demand made of the imagination is that *Ecclesiastes* should be seen as a gallery of portraits assembled by Koheleth. Whether the pictures represent different individuals or one person in different moods is of no moment. What matters is that each portrait exhibits an embodied philosophy of life—and not just a philosophy, but one which leads to death. We may call the collection "The Gallery of Inadequate Lives"—and so give it a title which defines its use in the hands of the Christian Preacher. For his task is to reveal the imperfections of the characters depicted and, when that is done, to set beside these old portraits a likeness of the one Man in Whom full and satisfying life is to be found.

The exercise is to be carried out in four stages. Three of these are, from the preacher's point of view, mainly negative. The fourth, the most satisfying, is positive.

The first step is to study Koheleth's portraits, as it were, in isolation, so that we may know their originals as they lived in ancient Jewry. In this task we get the help we need from commentaries such as that of Barton in the I.C.C. series and from such expository words as Dr. Russell Scott's *Pessimism and Love*. The aim is to make a complete list of the portraits and to set down under each the description which Koheleth has given us of the original.

Almost without exception it is a grim and unprepossessing company we find in our catalogue. We have two pictures⁷ of the man who resolved to master life by mastering knowledge: one shows him in his proud confidence, the other records his ultimate disillusionment and failure. A similar diptych⁸ describes the history of the man who thought sensual experience the way to satisfaction. Portraits of misers⁹ show how human features were distorted by the never-satisfied lure of more and more, by the ceaseless fear of loss and by the loneliness to which an acquisitive man was condemned by jealousy and suspicion. We are brought face to face with corrupt authorities¹⁰ in state and church, and not far from their portraits we see a representation of their

⁷ i: 12-18; viii: 16 f.

⁸ ii: 1-11.

⁹ v: 10, 13 f; vi: 7; iv: 6-8.

¹⁰ iii: 16; iv: 1; v: 8 f.

unhappy victim,¹¹ the man whom injustice has ravished of joy and hope. The Fatalist,¹² broken to resignation by the pressure of destiny, has a place in the gallery, and so, among others, have the man without faith in womankind¹³ and the possessors of transient glory¹⁴ whose features already prophesy their humiliation. All are different, for they are portraits of real people, but there is one thing they have in common. Each bears the title, "An Example of the Insufficient Life."

Other items of interest are to be seen in the gallery. For example, there is a pious Jew; Koheleth has invited him, perhaps with a wry, satirical smile, to inspect the exhibits. The tour holds not a single dull moment for him; but the emotions it stirs up are scarcely pleasurable. We can still read, scattered throughout Koheleth's book, the horrified protests which burst from his lips. But though we can sympathize with him, we cannot accept his views. On the contrary, we find ourselves compelled, by the utility of his protests, to enter his name in the catalogue with the others. For he has his place in the gallery; he too is living the inadequate life.

We turn to the begetter of the gallery, so quick and able to expose the limitations of his models. His criticisms of others are plausible enough—and yet we cannot be satisfied with him. For when we ask him for his own convictions, we find that he himself has no satisfactory light by which to walk. He is as much at home in his collection as any of his sitters. Their weakness is his also.

There are two scepticisms. One is a mood rather than a philosophy. It shows itself in the man who sates his soul with the sadness of an autumn evening—comfortably confident in his inner heart that spring will return. This sort is common enough. It is certainly to be found in many of Koheleth's modern readers, and it may have been the pessimism of Koheleth himself.

But there is another kind, the scepticism which is the pessimistic end of thought, reached when a man comes to the bleak conclusion that there is nothing solid on which he may build the house of his life. This is more likely than the other kind to be Koheleth's. It is not unattractive—there is nothing despicable and much that is likeable about Koheleth—but it is not enough. We note the absence of a clear sense of sin, a strong trust in God and a certainty of a hereafter, and we see that Koheleth too walks by a dim and uncertain light. Whether the portraits he shows include some likenesses of himself or not, he belongs to his own gallery by reason of his scepticism and pessimism.

When the characters of *Ecclesiastes* have become known in their original milieu, they are to be re-clothed in the dress of to-day.

¹¹ iv: 1.

¹² iii: 1-10; vi: 10-12.

¹³ vii: 26 ff.

¹⁴ iv: 13-16.

This is the second part of our exercise.

It is not difficult. The men we see in the ancient east appear only too readily among our acquaintance and in the newspapers, novels and poetry of the modern west. We also have the sensual, the self-confident, the cruel, the greedy and the defeated. We know the man of piety who knows all the answers and will not be convinced that other questions are being asked. And Koheleth himself is with us—a very modern figure indeed.

Some of these characters may be examined more closely in their twentieth-century forms.

We have the man who reproaches God with indifference to human suffering. He is, among others, Hardy's stricken peasant with the cry:

"But Thou, Lord, giv'st us men their clay
In helpless bondage thus
To Time and Chance, and seem'st straightway
To think no more of us."

But we have also, typical perhaps of our century more than of any others, a different sort of fatalist. This is the man who feels that vast, uncontrollable forces are driving on the world to ruin and that, before their might, the puny mind of humanity is helpless. Mr. Peter Townsend portrays him when speaking of the modern young intellectual's "acceptance of the uselessness of ideals" and his belief in the world's "interior urge to destruction."¹⁵

A familiar figure is the man whom public cruelty and injustice have convinced that there is no moral order in the universe. It is true that reason, working on knowledge of ancient ills and far-away atrocities, could not persuade him, and that aerial bombs crashing near his own house were alone able to move him. But the argument has been sadly effective; the face of this man is seen everywhere in the land.

Trust in human faculties has always been incarnate. The self-confidence it inculcates is to be seen in the egotistic, even arrogant search for sufficiency depicted in the first two chapters of *Ecclesiastes* and elsewhere.¹⁶ To-day it is characteristic, not merely of a few individuals, but even of a whole civilization. Matthew Arnold announced its establishment among us when he said that "faith in machinery . . . is our besetting danger"¹⁷; making use of the swiftly developing physical, mental and social sciences it has come near to conquering the western world. Man requires no God: his own brain will get him the victory.

The disciple of this faith is not always to be thought wicked in intention or accomplishment. The good at which he aims is often high, and he is not seldom willing to embrace something like a Cross in its service. All we can say is that he does not convince

¹⁵ *Spectator*, May 12, 1950.

¹⁶ cf. Prov. xvi: 18, etc.

¹⁷ *Culture and Anarchy*, p. 11.

s. Koheleth showed us the self-confident man come through failure to misery: we believe the journey leads still to the same end. We put the scientific humanist among those who have no answer to the great question of life.

Koheleth himself is with us. We have portraits of him at various stages of his career. He is the eager soul who has seen the spring of hope pass into autumn disappointment and cannot decide whether the change is in the world or in himself. He is A. E. Housman's Lost Young Man:

"When first my way to fair I took,
Few pence in hand had I;
And long I used to stand and look
At things I could not buy.

Now things are altered; if I care
To buy a thing, I can.
The pence are here, and here's the fair,
But where's the lost young man?"

We see him settled in pessimism and scepticism. Sometimes he is bitter, morose and selfish; sometimes, on the other hand, he rises to heroism. Chesterton wrote of Thomas Hardy:

"There was this rather tremendous truth about Hardy; that he had humility. . . . He defied the gods and dared the lightning and all the rest of it; but the great Greeks would have seen that there was no thunderbolt for him, because he had no *hubris* or insolence. For what heaven hates is not impiety but the pride of impiety. Hardy was blasphemous but he was not proud; and it is pride that is a sin and not blasphemy"¹⁸.

Hardy and his many kinsfolk are Koheleth in the modern world. They reject the easy answers to the fundamental questions and confess their inability to find all life is said to hold; but they do not take refuge in hardness of heart, nor do they take the easy way out of all their dilemmas. They cling to what certainty they have, and their hands are often stretched out to help. They are sometimes not far from the Kingdom.

Part Three of our exercise requires us to bring the kindred worlds of Koheleth's day and our own into the world of the New Testament. The fact that the New Testament contains no recognizable quotation from *Ecclesiastes* need not discourage us. There is an intimate relationship between Koheleth's age, our own day and the first century of Christian story which makes the three—often to our regret—one single world.

The Epistles describe Christian communities in which some at least of Koheleth's company would have found congenial society.

¹⁸ *Autobiography*, p. 278.

There were Corinthians¹⁹ to whom knowledge was power and Romans²⁰ who might be glad to hear again from Paul how Christ set men free from fear of "Chance, of Fate, of the stars above and the world beyond".²¹ Other churches show us believers whose hearts had grown cold or indifferent²², whose faith was weakened by persecution²³, whose confidence was unable to bear the erosion of unfulfilled promises²⁴. In such households Koheleth's acquaintances—and ours—would be at home.

The Gospels produce familiar faces. Caiaphas, Pilate and the Jerusalem mob suggest the unscrupulous and insensitive in Church and State. In the ranks of the Pharisees we see the pious but unreflective soul who is so helpless and so dangerous when the Spirit is moving in the world. And, among those who drew near to Jesus for pity and succour, how many belonged to the vast host of victims of man's inhumanity whose representatives once filled Koheleth's land and in our generation are dispersed throughout the whole world!

Koheleth's models throng the Gospel parables. Jesus likened some men to plants²⁵ which promise so much and accomplish so little, having been shrivelled by the cruel sun or choked by unyielding thorns. These men repeat the recurring plaint of *Ecclesiastes*, that "all is vanity". Again, He spoke of a farmer²⁶ who enlarged and crammed his barns, planning to live out his days in ease—and was cut off in his hopes. It is thought sometimes that, in this story, Jesus had a passage of *Ecclesiastes*²⁷ in mind. That is unlikely, and yet the farmer does belong to Koheleth's collection. He is the greedy miser who will not be satisfied, and he is the confident, short-sighted materialist brought to his inevitable end, which is collapse. The man who built his house on sand²⁸ is another who put his trust in the wrong things. The younger son²⁹, the prodigal, is the sensualist who found that his wilful journey, inspired by a low estimate of life's worth, led inevitably to humiliation and the hunger of death. Again, when we hear Jesus compare the prayer of the self-righteous, self-satisfied Pharisee³⁰ with the cry of the Publican who knew himself and his weakness, we are at once reminded of the insincere worshipper whom Koheleth summoned before him for judgment³¹.

These are examples of what might be done. It is likely that every member of Koheleth's limited company could be accommodated without difficulty among the much more varied individuals

¹⁹ I Cor. viii: 1.

²⁰ Rom. viii: 38.

²¹ T. R. Glover, *Christ in the Ancient World*, p. 19.

²² Rev. ii, iii.

²³ Heb. xii: 3-13; cf. Rev. xvii: 6, etc.

²⁴ II Peter iii: 3 f.

²⁵ Mark iv: 5-7, 16-19.

²⁶ Luke xii: 16-21.

²⁷ Ecc. ii: 4, 18; but cf. *Ecclesiasticus* v: 1, xi: 18 f.

²⁸ Matt. vii: 26 f.

²⁹ Luke xv: 15 f.

³⁰ Luke xviii: 10-18.

³¹ Ecc. v: 1-7.

to people the Parables. But this, like their settlement among the real persons of the New Testament, is not to be wondered at. The New Testament is necessarily a series of moving pictures of adequate Lives.

What has been suggested hitherto has mainly been negative. Sufficiency has been the theme. The fourth stage of the exercise, now to be begun, must take us further and yield something positive.

Its task is to bring Christ into the galleries which have been assembled, so that His richness confronts the poverty of the worlds of Koheleth, the first century and to-day. We are to set the wholeness of His life beside the partial lives of the sceptic, the pessimist, the broken-hearted, the optimistic believer in man's native empire and all the rest of us who make up the twentieth century. We are to show that He alone is the Key to the understanding of our Problem Pictures. He is the Sufficient Life now as He always has been.

But to see the difference between Christ and the others is not enough for the preacher. A man's story is not ended when he asks who has the words of eternal life. It is still incomplete even when he knows to Whom he should go. Only when he proves that Christ is the Power is his story ended—and a new one begun. Hardy (who is Koheleth) has a poem about the legend that each Christmas eve the oxen in their stalls kneel in adoration of the Holy Child. The poet cannot accept such a fancy, he says; and yet, if someone were to bid him come and see the miracle happen,

"I should go with him in the gloom,
Hoping it might be so."

Obviously it is the task of the Christian preacher to bring his generation out to see that it is so. This, however, lies beyond the scope of the present exercise—which some, indeed, may consider has already travelled much too far from *Ecclesiastes* to be reasonable. But of course the preacher of the Christian message cannot stop at the book and its contents. Even in the beginning the function of *Ecclesiastes* lay in "clearing away outworn conceptions before new, larger, truer and more inspiring faith could have its birth"³². We must use *Ecclesiastes* because its conceptions, though outworn, persist in every age and have in each age to be cleared away; the difference between now and the age of Koheleth is that we have access to the fullness of life in Jesus Christ. Surely we use the book well if we make it contribute to His richness and power.

³² G. A. Barton, *International Critical Commentary*, p. 50.

RURAL CONGREGATIONALISM IN AMERICA

BY THOMAS ALFRED TRIPP, M.A., B.D., L.H.D.

THIS article is a belated response to a congenial meeting with Editor J. Mills Phillips of *The Congregational Quarterly*. It was a hot July midnight in 1949 during the International Congregational Council meeting at Wellesley, Massachusetts. We were discussing, among other things, how there could be a greater exchange of information between Congregational churches around the world regarding rural problems and methods. I volunteered to write a statement on American rural churches in the hope that general thinking might be stimulated. The following is written on the assumption that at least some readers may be as unfamiliar with the American rural church scene as I am with regard to the situation in their respective countries. Hence, it will be understood if some details appear obvious to those who have travelled here or are already well acquainted with the literature of rural life in the United States.

Rural churches in America are defined as those located in the open country and in villages of 2,500 or less population. This arbitrary statistical definition has meaning only because the United States Bureau of the Census so defines the division between the rural and the urban population and community. A cultural definition obviously has more meaning. Farming is the most characteristic rural occupation and is the principal economic basis of rural society. Farming is a way of life differing from most other enterprises in that it is largely an out-of-doors matter and deals first-hand with resources of the earth in the production of raw materials of food, fibre, plastics and the like. Fishing, mining and lumbering are somewhat similar rural occupations. The cultural results of these fundamental means of human existence have distinct meanings.

In the United States the farm settlement pattern differs in general from the European. The American farmer lives on his land with his growing crops, animals and barns immediately surrounding the home. Excepting some of the early New England farmers, the Mormons of Utah and the fruit growers of California, few practising agriculturists live in villages or cities away from their land and daily work. Since farm families living thus dispersed need religion, education and general social intercourse as much as any class, some institutions exist in open country areas to meet these needs. Country neighbourhoods, which can be quite clearly defined by the sociolo-

ts, early came into being around these open country institutions under the encouragement of social exchange and acquaintance between "neighbouring" farm households. Thus, there arose the country church as one type of rural institution.

The other type of rural church is in the village or town. (Built-up rural places are designated "village" or "town", interchangeably "town" being the most general popular terminology, especially in the West and South. In New England, "village" is more often used and scientific sociological writings generally employ the same term.) The rural town or village exists chiefly as the service centre for the surrounding farmers and other open country residents. Here farmers come to buy and sell, as well as to obtain services such as repairs for machinery, medical care and recreation. Many farmers worship in nearby village churches.

The considerable social and economic interchange between country and village people and the mutual interdependence of the two types of communities have created a series of larger rural communities with the village at the centre of a number of surrounding open country neighbourhoods. This trend calls for close co-operation between the town churches and the country churches of an area. There are many ways in which this trend is being recognized and provided for a stronger rural church, comprised of both country and town churches working in unison.

The rural church looms rather large in the American ecclesiastical scene. There are about 65,000 country churches and 110,000 village churches. Of all churches and synagogues in the nation, three-fourths are rural, thus leaving only one of four in urban areas. Considering that urban communities are defined as all those above 500 population, these proportions suggest the great relative importance of the rural church. American Congregationalism is slightly less rural than the interdenominational average. Two-thirds of the Congregational Christian Churches are rural, as compared to the average of three-fourths for all religious bodies.

It will be pertinent to describe the rural church 'movement' in the United States. Americans are sometimes reminded of their tendency to organize matters of any assumed or real importance on national scale. This pattern shows itself with regard to the rural church. Notwithstanding the great agricultural regions on this continent, with their thousands of town and country communities, Americans were relatively unaware of the distinctive features of the rural church until about the end of the first decade of the present century. In 1908 President Theodore Roosevelt, influenced by the Irish statesman and agrarian leader, Sir Horace Plunkett, appointed the now famous Commission on Country Life which investigated rural conditions throughout the nation.

The Commission's report, issued in April 1909, described some rather alarming symptoms of social maladjustment in rural areas, including an unsatisfactory town and country church situation. In that same year the Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., elected the late Warren H. Wilson as secretary of its newly formed Town and Country Church Department. When the Presbyterians called him, the youthful Dr. Wilson was teaching rural sociology at Columbia University and had just received his Ph.D. degree on the basis of his study of a rural community, Quarker Hill, New York, and its church. His work as a rural church secretary was highly successful and set the pattern for other denominations. Today each major Protestant board of home missions in America has on its staff one or more persons in charge of a town and country department. The Roman Catholics also maintain a major agency for this purpose, the National Catholic Rural Life Conference.

In 1919 the Congregational Home Missionary Society appointed the late Dr. Malcolm Dana, a successful rural pastor, as its first town and country secretary. Dr. Dana served with distinction, giving personal encouragement to hundreds of rural pastors as he travelled year after year throughout the continent. He organized the so-called 'larger parish movement', a plan for the co-operation of several contiguous rural churches into a closely-related single parish. He was prominent among those instrumental in the establishment of a large-scale system of in-service training for rural pastors and in influencing many theological schools to add rural church chairs with a curriculum of rural sociology, town and country church methods, parish survey techniques and community programmes. He served until 1937 when he was succeeded by the present writer as Director of the Town and Country Department of the Board of Home Missions which had just absorbed the Congregational Home Missionary Society along with the various other homeland agencies. Dr. Wesley A. Hotchkiss joined the staff of the Board of Home Missions in 1950 as Associate Director of the Town and Country Department.

The Town and Country Department is organized under the Town and Country Committee of the Division of Church Extension and Evangelism of the Board of Home Missions. It serves the rural churches through comparable town and country committees elected by each of the State conferences and by visits of its staff to rural parishes. Its programme is varied and flexible, responding to the evident needs of local rural churches, needs as expressed by their pastors and the State superintendents from time to time.

The activities of the Department and the State conference rural committees are directed specifically at the adjudged needs of the nearly 4,000 Congregational Christian churches in village and

country areas. Consultations are continuous with the State committees concerning their direct contacts with the rural churches in their respective areas. Guidance is offered to rural pastors and churches regarding the best known ways of parish work. Research, particularly field research which is the study of specific parishes, communities and larger areas, is treated as a matter of importance. Published materials, both pamphlets and magazine articles, are provided in a steady stream for pastors and laymen who seek improvement of their understanding of rural society and parish methods. Training of the rural ministry for their peculiar tasks receives emphasis through numerous institutes, summer short-courses and experimental projects, the last of which includes support and leadership of a national Committee on the Marginal Church.

The Town and Country Department co-operates most heartily with the interdenominational programme of the Town and Country Department of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. The Council Department publishes the valuable rural church periodical, *Town and Country Church*, conducts an annual national convocation attended by rural pastors from every State and provides a professional forum for denominational rural specialists who are secretaries of the several town and country departments. These rural church specialists are chosen for their specialized education, usually on the graduate level, in rural sociology as well as theology. They are, therefore, inclined to have professional concern for improvement of their own services to the churches by searching each other's minds in conference and through participation in mutually sponsored rural church projects.

What is the significance of the rural church? Why should it be given special attention? These may be questions in the minds of some readers. The answer is simple. There are wide differences in the sociological environment of rural churches as compared with urban churches. The rural consideration is a sociological one. The Church and the Message is one but, for purposes of study and work, a sociological consideration is taken in order to specialize more closely on the problems of the rural church. The same statement is applicable to the urban church, of course, and there exists a considerable urban church movement paralleling the rural movement. The division of labour between specialists in the rural and specialists in the urban church study and work has been a distinct convenience for nearly half a century.

Advantages of a rural emphasis in the church are evident. In the first place, it creates a 'strong-point' at which young students in the theological schools may be challenged. In the United States many students, pursuing the courses in rural church work along

with the usual theological studies, commit their lives to the rural ministry. This step is not often demanded by the rural specialists and professors but it has a certain importance. Rural fields are frequently isolated and difficult, requiring special devotion where greater comforts and salaries are offered by the larger city churches. Rural parish work requires specialized knowledge and experience. It is well that some pastors are willing to devote their talents particularly to the rural field.

A second advantage of a rural emphasis in the church is the improved quality of parish programme that can be obtained through specialization. Rural life in the United States has many problems which require special attention. Sharecroppers and other landless tenant farmers, as well as farm labourers who work for wages, are difficult to enlist and to serve in the older denominations whose churches are generally composed of and controlled by the more prosperous land-owning farmers and other propertied classes. There is a class problem involved, also, in church work with both town people and country people in one parish. Many rural ministers must solve these problems which require specialized knowledge. The catalogue of problems could be extended almost endlessly beyond these two which take account of the stratification of the rural population. A rural emphasis narrows the issues so that a minister may be more nearly able to cope with them.

A third advantage of the rural emphasis is the increased feeling of self-significance; that is, the higher status of the rural pastor. His salary is often modest and amenities for his family are generally less as compared with his city fellow-minister. He feels the occasions when he is left off important committees and programmes in favour of his co-worker in urban pulpits. He may seek an urban parish as a means of professional advancement, leaving the rural church vacant or to the service of a lesser leader. A rural programme and service gives recognition to the rural pastor. His specialized attention to the rural field increases his ability to demand greater appreciation. The banding together with other pastors similarly occupied in the rural church 'movement' gives him the strength which always comes from comradeship and close fellowship. These forces are seen at work in many parts of the nation.

Finally, some special means of parish work are given importance in the rural church emphasis. The larger parish, mentioned above, is an 'invention' which has grown out of rural specialization. Programmes for bringing together the rural classes, also previously described, are being attacked by town and country church workers. Progress toward the mixing of farmers and villagers through an out-reach of the town churches to the surrounding unchurched farm neighbourhoods is still another significant result. Ministerial

Training for specific rural work has increased a hundredfold since the rural emphasis began. Somehow, there seems to be a stronger practice of interdenominational co-operation and fellowship among rural churches and ministers than in urban communities. So one could go on in naming the meanings of the rural emphasis in the Church.

How can a national church body start a rural church emphasis? This question was asked by some of the delegates from the various countries represented at Wellesley. The answer may differ from place to place but in America there seems to be a rather regular pattern which has been followed by the several denominations and inter-church councils. A committee is usually elected by the board responsible for working with the local churches and ministers. In the American denominations the appointment of such a rural church committee (Town and Country Church Committee is the usual name in the United States) is almost invariably on the initiative of the board of home missions.

The duties assigned to the committee vary but, in general, the group is requested to survey and report on the conditions of the rural churches and to propose the best means to improve the rural church situation. The solution may indicate some staff specialization or it may suggest continued work by a committee of volunteers who will bring to the attention of the whole Church the needs of the rural parishes and pastors. Special conferences of rural pastors and laymen which are held in various places about the nation have been found to be useful in gathering information regarding the rural situation and in creating fellowship feelings among rural churchmen. In addition to rural pastors, it is important not to overlook farmers, rural sociologists, agricultural economists and other farm specialists who are also active churchmen, as resources in committee work and conference leadership. From such activities may come new life for the rural church in any national or denominational religious body.

SOME DISSENTING FRIENDS OF JOHN NEWTON¹

BY BERNARD MARTIN

JOHN NEWTON was baptized in the Congregational Church at New Stairs (Old Gravel Lane), Wapping; or, at least, he was baptized by the minister of that church, David Jennings¹. Newton's father, educated at a Jesuit college in Spain, showed no more than a conventional interest in religion; but his mother was a faithful member of the New Stairs church and had hopes that her only son might go some day to St. Andrews University, to be trained for the Nonconformist ministry. She kept the boy at home, and devoted most of her time to his education, making him learn by heart "many valuable pieces, chapters, and portions of scripture, catechisms, hymns and poems"²; as well as "the answers to the questions in the Assembly's Shorter Catechisms, with the proofs; and all Dr. Watts' smaller Catechisms, and his Children's Hymns"³. Just before John's seventh birthday she died.

During the next ten years or so, Newton became an agnostic; or, as he would have said, a Freethinker—largely as a result of reading *The Characteristicks* of Lord Shaftesbury. It would be a mistake to overlook the influence on the lad's mind of such emotional experiences as his love of Mary Catlett, voyages with his father "in a state of fear and bondage", a disgrace in Spain, capture by a press gang, and war service in the Royal Navy, but such emotions were countered by a mind that was unusually thoughtful and enquiring, so that his agnosticism was intellectual rather than emotional. By the time that he was dismissed with ignominy from the Royal Navy and put aboard a slave trade ship outward bound for Africa, his unbelief was fixed. There followed two and a half years on the Guinea Coast, partly as the slave of a white man and partly as a slave-trader, and during all this time his unbelief prevailed.

Conversion came when Newton was twenty-three years old, and it was essentially intellectual, although induced by an emotional strain: that is to say he was already dissatisfied with his agnosticism and was turning it over and over in his mind when fear of sudden death in a storm at sea brought his discontent to an edge, and he determined to examine again the Scriptures which he had denied dialectically.

¹ Letter from Newton to Jennings, no date, but probably 1751 or 1752, reference 38.98.51.

² *An Authentic Narrative*, Letter 2.

³ *Memoirs of Newton*, by R. Cecil, p. 5, London, 1826.

He did not at once accept Christianity, but he began to investigate the faith at which he had scoffed with such vehemence. He is able to recall long passages of Scripture learned at his mother's knee, and "found a great benefit from the recollection of them"⁴. He remembered the promise *If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children: how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?*⁵ and he decided to put it to a practical trial. "I reasoned thus: if this book were true, the promise in this passage must be likewise true; I have believed of that very Spirit, by which the whole was written, in order to understand it aright. He has engaged here to give that Spirit to those who ask. I must therefore pray for it, and if it is of God, it will make good his own word . . . I could not say from my heart that I believed the gospel, yet I would for the present, take it for granted . . ."⁶

It was in this reasoning mood that Newton sought the light, and sought it wherever a glimmer could be seen. His ship reached Northern Ireland and, at once, he went to the Anglican church. There is a point of minor interest to Church historians in his experience; "I was now a serious professor: went twice a day to prayers in church, and determined to receive the sacrament the next opportunity. A few days before, I signified my intention to the minister, as the rubric directs; but I found this practice was grown obsolete"⁷.

Almost at once Newton went to sea again so that he had little opportunity to learn anything from churchgoing. He went as mate on a slave ship, and then as Captain; making three voyages, lasting all four years. The slave trade was a very respectable occupation, as yet, criticized only by a few Quakers and poets and suchlike responsible persons.

In slave ships it was usual to hold Sunday services for the crew, and to avoid even talking about business on Sundays. Newton wrote, "Sunday: passed the time till Evening in hearing and telling news, not being customary to talk business ye first day"⁸. After many months at sea Newton's ship was detained at Charlestown in Carolina, and there he had another chance to attend church. He wrote, "I was much in the dark about preaching, not doubting but whatever came from the pulpit must be very good"⁸. He went first to the Episcopal church of St. Philip's, but he was so far dissatisfied with what he heard and was sufficiently anxious to seek the truth, that he went several times to the Congregational church to hear the minister, Josiah Smith, a graduate of Harvard and the grandson of a former Governor of the Colony: but he did not find Smith much

⁴ *An Authentic Narrative*, Letter 2.

⁵ *ibid*, Letter 8.

⁶ *ibid*, Letter 9.

⁷ *Journal*, 11th Nov., 1750.

⁸ *An Authentic Narrative*, Letter 11.

more enlightening than the episcopalian; "there was something in his manner that struck me", wrote Newton, "but I did not rightly understand him"⁹. So the young seeker after truth had to rely on "private meditation and prayer in ye great temple which the Lord hath built for his own honour"¹⁰—a practice which Newton maintained whenever possible throughout the rest of a busy life, for he had a passion for woods and fields.

During his first voyage Newton spent the long, tropical nights, while his ship was cruising up and down the Guinea Coast, in improving his education by the study of languages and mathematics; but the vividness of his conversion remained, and gradually his diary records less time spent with Virgil and Horace and Euclid, and more with Richard Baxter and Isaac Watts and Philip Doddridge.

Private meditation and devotional books did not supply all his needs, however, and when, two years after his conversion, he found himself back in London, he decided to take counsel with the minister who had baptized him. David Jennings was still at New Stairs, Wapping, but he was also Divinity tutor at the Academy in Wellclose Square in the residence of Samuel Morton Savage, having succeeded John Eames, F.R.S., under the Coward Trust¹¹. A year before this, in May 1749, the University of St. Andrews had sent Jennings its diploma of D.D., on the suggestion of Doddridge. Jennings, in acknowledging the compliment to Doddridge, is said to have remarked that the only benefit of the distinction was that having an adult son he would be saved from being called "old Mr. Jennings"¹².

Newton had just been appointed captain of *The Duke of Argyle* and, having made an unsuccessful attempt to see Jennings in London, wrote to him from Liverpool, "to beg your guidance and advice to conduct me thro' ye busy world I am just entering upon. You will not perhaps wonder that young and unexperienced as I am I should earnestly desire an acquaintance with some person whose approved Judgment and Candour I might have recourse to for direction in difficult points, but my abrupt application to You in particular may require some apology: I can only say upon this head, that I was induc'd to it, by having often heard that my Mother was favour'd with a share of your regard when living, and that you have often made obliging mention of her Memory since her death"¹³. Jennings answered this modest appeal, and a correspondence began which lasted until his death in 1762.

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ Diary of 29th May, 1755.

¹¹ *History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches*, by W. Wilson, Vol. 2, p. 73, London, 1808.

¹² *D.N.B.* Jennings, David.

¹³ Letter, 6th July, 1750, ref. 38.98.46.

Correspondence to and from slave ships was slow. Newton told his wife, "nothing is more uncertain than passages, especially homeward from the West Indies: it has been known that a vessel has sail'd a month after another and got home as much before her and no accident happen'd on either side"¹⁴. When ships were actually buying slaves along the Guinea Coast with no fixed port of call letters might be many months in transit. So Newton's letters to his spiritual adviser were in the nature of essays on religious subjects. In the second, begun two days out from Liverpool, he wrote, "excuse all faults and put a favourable construction upon my Quotations, which I am apt to give much into, tho' it seems generally exploded: I should have perhaps been laught out of it before now, but that ye opinion and example of my best Master, Dr. Watts, has encouraged me"¹⁵. It is significant that Newton, thus early, described Isaac Watts as "my best Master"; for Watts was noted for his charitable nature and his dislike of controversy in an age when "the saints indulged in vicious attacks upon each other"¹⁶; and it is these two qualities, charity and tolerance, which later became Newton's most evident virtues.

Newton was engaged in a horrible trade, and it seems almost hypocritical that he should describe to Jennings the difficulties of slave trading and then write, "when I consider that . . . I shall be surrounded with a Providence . . . or, in the expressive words of St. Paul, that neither life nor death, nor Angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate Me from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord: I then grow compos'd and ready to undertake whatever is necessary with cheerfulness"¹⁷. But only a superficial judgment would condemn this as hypocrisy: it did not appear so to devout Christians two hundred years ago; and Jennings wrote, as a Divinity tutor should, of theological matters. In one reply Newton said, "The doctrine of final Perseverance whc. you touch upon I was a stranger to till very lately, but my reason soon clos'd in with so interesting a thought . . ."¹⁸. A year later he wrote from Antigua, "I shall always look upon it as one of my principal blessings that I was inspir'd with the happy thought of seeking your friendship and found you so ready to encourage me"¹⁹. The same sentiment is repeated in other letters, and in one he added, "I cannot but lament having neglected the opportunity so many years"²⁰.

¹⁴ Letter, 6th July, 1753.

¹⁵ Letter, 16th Aug., 1750, ref. 39.98.47.

¹⁶ *Isaac Watts*, by A. P. Davis, p. 217, *Indep. Press*, 1948.

¹⁷ Letter, 16th Aug., 1750, ref. 38.98.47.

¹⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁹ Letter, 20th July, 1751, ref. 38.98.48.

²⁰ Letter, 29th Aug., 1752, ref. 38.98.50.

Newton did not hesitate to express his own thoughts to Jennings, though with due modesty, "I have indeed been long of the opinion", he wrote in 1751, "that what we call danger is not more real at one time or place than another, tho' more visible, for none can be imagin'd so great or emergent but Omnipotence can furnish an expedient against it nor can the most cautious supposition provide a sufficient security for the wicked"²¹.

In the summer of 1752, before commencing a new voyage, Newton wrote from Liverpool, "I would willingly interest the prayers of all good people in my behalf, and propose to put up bills on all the publick places of worship in this town on Sunday next, and as it is the custom here to mention every body by name, I shall be glad of an opportunity of telling so many thousand people at once, that tho' I shall be at least equal in all external advantages, with any ship that goes abroad, yet I depend only and entirely upon the blessing of the Almighty for success in any degree"²². No doubt Jennings rejoiced that his young friend was thus nailing his colours to the mast; but, in fact, Newton did not find this matter of proclaiming the great truth discovered at his conversion anything like so difficult by billposting as by personal witness. He was by nature shy and diffident, and, besides, his circumstances gave him few opportunities. Most captains were content with one perfunctory service on Sunday mornings. Newton wrote in his diary, "I resolve by His help to be very punctual and constant in having publick prayers morning and evening on Sundays"²³.

In his private life he was very devout. "I would extend the secular week no farther than to 4 or 6 o'clock on Saturdays"²⁴, he wrote, and six months later he drew up elaborate plans to make the most of his time; for, like all who believed in a distant day of judgment, he was Time's slave. "I think seven hours sleep as much as I have occasion or can indeed afford to pass inactive; perhaps six might do, but however I would look upon it as in a manner criminal to exceed eight at any time unless sickness or an extraordinary hurry of business and want of rest should offer such an excuse as my own mind would approve . . . (resolve) to dedicate my first waking thoughts to my Gracious preserver from all evils, and then rising immediately offer up my morning sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving upon my knees, in as solemn and particular a manner as possible. . . . In this exercise and in reading portions of the old and new testaments in a devotional way I would employ one hour, or if not otherwise hinder'd 2 hours every morning . . . (then) I may safely go on with my purpose of improving myself in the Latin and french language and the mathematicks . . . recreating my mind

²¹ Letter, 20th July, 1751, ref. 38.98.48.

²² Letter, 8th June, 1752, ref. 38.98.49.

²³ Diary, 13th July, 1752.

²⁴ Diary, 11th Jan., 1752.

and unbending it that I may return to my devotions with more warmth and cheerfulness and at the same time furnishing myself with helps and directions for my secular management and properly filling up the station and way of life in which Providence has plac'd me"²⁵.

It is revealing to glance at the ship's *Journal* of the same voyage to see what "extraordinary hurry of business" there might be to interrupt the Captain's devotions. The usual entries record such incidents as the return of the longboat with "4 slaves, 2 fine boys and an old man and woman not worth their room wh. if possible I must dispose of again"²⁶; but there was one unusual "hurry of business". Some slaves in the ship had "formed a plot for an insurrection"; which means they tried to escape back to their homes. Four chained boy slaves stole "some knives, stoneshot etc. and a cold chissel" and passed these tools to chained men slaves. The *Journal* says, "put the boys in irons and slightly in ye thumbscrews, to urge them to a full confession"²⁷—such was the way of life in which Providence had placed John Newton. That the thumbscrews were used "slightly", and that Newton found room for the word in his *Journal*, shows, probably, an unusual sense of compassion; for torture of white men and women in the name of Justice was still common in England and these were mere "blacks, or, as they are more contemptuously styled, negro slaves . . ." ²⁸. It is possible, however, that this was not a case of mercy but one of prudence, because the boys were valuable cargo and must reach the place of sale undamaged.

Two years after the correspondence with Jennings began, Newton expressed concern about the Sunday services for his crew. He explained that sailors lack imagination; "we are for ye most part supply'd with the refuse and dregs of ye nation. The prisons and glasshouses furnish us with large quotas, and boys impatient of their parents or masters or already ruin'd by some untimely vice. . . I could not judge myself equal to the task of conceiv'd prayer before a number of people, especially such as would be too apt to take offence at an indifferent performance and no forms that I have met with have been suitable to the particular circumstances of our calling. I was at last forc'd to take up with the common prayer of the Church of England, which tho' it contains many things that I think excellent yet the Breaks, the repetitions and indeed the expressions in some places, render it in my opinion but an indifferent rule for such congregations as mine . . . the few Collects designed for the sea, being only applicable to particular cases which seldom happen. To remedy this I venture to compose a short prayer of my own, relating entirely to our own wants and views wch I write down and

²⁵ Diary, 13th July, 1752.

²⁶ *Journal*, 1st Dec., 1752.

²⁷ *Journal*, 11 Dec. 1752.

²⁸ *Posthumous Works of John Newton*, Vol. 2, p. 254, London, 1809.

deliver amongst the rest always in the same words that the service may be of a piece. I likewise take the liberty of leaving out or changing, to make the whole to the best of my judgment as suitable as possible and tho' after all these there are many things that I wish alter'd, yet it has pleas'd God so far to bless the sincerity of my intentions, that there are few moments of my life afford me a more real pleasure, than when I am thus attempting the part of a Minister to abt twenty five people'²⁹. Thus wrote the future curate of Olney and rector of St. Mary Woolnoth.

Newton went on to say that he knew already a little book, *The Seaman's Monitor*, and another entitled *Navigation Spiritualized*, both of which were very good but hardly suited for public worship. He asked Jennings to find some fit person to compile a Sailor's Prayer Book; to be a large part devotional with prayers arranged to follow readings from the Bible, and with a few short discourses which could be read aloud to illiterate seamen. If such a book was published "for about 2 shills." he would willingly subscribe for a hundred copies, and was confident he could get large subscriptions from Captains and shipowners in Liverpool. The offer was generous because his pay at this time was only five pounds a month with a small share of any profits of the voyage³⁰.

Having written at length on this subject, Newton went back to his private devotions awaiting a reply. He decided that his mid-day prayers, to avoid repeating those of morning and evening, should relate to other than personal affairs, "as sometimes to pray more generally for the race of mankind, the enlargement of the gospel light, the reformation and good order of the Christian church either in the whole, or that part which consists of all those who call upon the name of the Lord Jesus in our own nations, however unhappily at variance in points of less importance: for the spirit of grace and amendment upon all debauched and profane persons (such as I myself too long was) and all who are held in delusion by errors in fundamental points . . ."³¹. Those to be prayed for included "all in captivity or oppression", but, naturally this did not mean negroes.

In due time Jennings replied to the suggestion about the Sailor's Prayer Book. It was, he said, too difficult for a landsman because of the technical sea terms. Newton assured Jennings that anyone with a little imagination who had read a few books of sea voyages could find "a plain easy way of reasoning" which sailors would understand; to which Jennings replied that Newton was himself competent for the task. Apparently the young Captain

²⁹ Letter, 29th Aug., 1752, ref. 38.98.50. Note use of the word "glasshouses" which Partridge in *Dictionary of Slang* dates from 20th century, and relates to the modern building at Aldershot.

³⁰ *Journal*, 1752. Note: the Surgeon and the Carpenter were each paid three pounds ten shillings per month.

³¹ *Diary*, 30th July, 1752.

have the matter very serious consideration. Evening after evening he sat in his stuffy cabin "distracted with the noise of slaves and readers, suffocated with heat and almost chop-fallen with perpetual talking", as he told his wife³²; and yet with energy to write his *Journal*, a diary, and long letters. He even thought of writing a book on Marriage and got so far as the title, *Marriage, consider'd in ye choice of ye party, the method of courtship, and the art of being mutually pleasing Afterwards*. Then came Jennings' suggestion, and Newton wrote to his wife, "I am not master enough of style to venture at" the book on Marriage, "besides my good friend Dr. Jennings has engag'd my first leisure for an attempt of a different kind³³". But the attempt was not made. Newton was more than once turned aside from an enterprise by diffidence. When first he was offered a captaincy of a slave ship he declined asking instead to be sent as Mate, although at the time he badly wanted the pay and position of a Captain in order to get married. In like manner he was deterred from compiling the Sailor's Prayer book. "I have not a choice of fixedness of style to venture appearing in print in this nice censorious age", he told Jennings, "least of all could I presume to compose prayers for others, who have so much need to borrow helps from others. I look upon this as the most difficult kind of writing, to perform it well, and otherwise it is better left alone"³⁴.

However he sent Jennings a sample of what he could do; "a quarto book of occasional thoughts", written on Sundays³⁵. Unfortunately this early work has been lost, but some idea of its quality may be guessed from diary entries of the same period. "I am well assured, that it is all in vain, to watch and to take pains, to rise early and take late rest, eating the bread of carefulness night and day, in the prosecution of our worldly affairs, unless thou art pleas'd to render our endeavours effectual by thy countenance and protection³⁶": and, on the subject of Fasting, "I would not constantly prescribe to myself a fast absolutely, of such a determined number of hours, or confine myself too strictly to forms, which often degenerate into superstition. I would rather habituate to a constant and orderly abstemiousness and moderation in the enjoyment of all God's temporal blessings, thankfully receiving them and using them but always with an eye to his glory . . . but that in the eyes of man I appear not to fast or be afflicted"³⁷.

It is uncertain when Newton and Jennings first met after the correspondence began, but Mary Newton visited Mrs. Jennings

³² Letter to Mary Newton.

³³ Letter, 30th June, 1753.

³⁴ Letter, 8th Sept., 1753, ref. 38.98.52.

³⁵ Letter, undated but probably 1752, ref. 28.98.51.

³⁶ Diary, 23th July, 1752.

³⁷ Diary, 30th July, 1752.

in London; and, once, when Newton sent his wife "5 cags of green sweetmeats, 1 cag of white and 1 pineapple in a cag" from the West Indies, he included as a gift to his elderly friend "an African senatorial habit and the tail of an elephant³⁸". Perhaps he considered the African senatorial gown especially appropriate for a tutor at Wellclose Square Academy; but the elephant's tail is inexplicable.

A diary entry of 1753 mentions Doddridge's *Some Remarkable Passages in the Life of the Honorable Col. James Gardiner*. Newton saw a parallel between his own life and that of Gardiner and was disturbed to think that his own witness fell so far short of Gardiner's. He decided "to improve my religious acquaintance by correspondence . . . as a master of a ship, or a family (as it shall happen) I would resolve in the first place to labour to show myself a good example to all under me³⁹". Six months later he told Jennings that Doddridge's book "has affected me more frequently and sensibly than all the books I ever read⁴⁰". After explaining the parallel he concluded, "I think I have fully open'd my mind to you". Jennings must have been especially interested because he had been a friend of Doddridge, who died in 1751, and because his elder brother John Jennings, minister of the Congregational Church at Ribworth, had been Doddridge's tutor.

On what proved to be Newton's last voyage he wrote joyfully to Jennings, "I have met with a brother sailor, a brother Captain too, whose acquaintance I esteem beyond all temporal advantage that could have fallen to me: as he is an acquaintance of yours I shall only tell you his name is Alex Clunie, it is needless I am sure to say anything of his character . . . after having been together ye most part of the day, we are hardly able to part at midnight . . . my life of late compar'd with what it was has seem'd a heaven upon earth and I trust I shall have lasting, I may say indeed everlasting cause to bless God on his behalf⁴¹". Clunie was a Congregationalist, a member of the Stepney church, whose minister, Samuel Brewer, D.D., had been tutored by David Jennings. To his wife Newton said, "I have picked up a valuable acquaintance here. . . I was going to say he is one of my stamp; but he is far beyond me in all that I desire⁴²", and in his diary he wrote of his meeting with Clunie as "beyond all the dispensations I have met since the hour of my conversion. I have since found my heart inflamed, my views enlarged, my principles settled and my weakness over power'd vastly beyond all my former experience⁴³".

³⁸ Letter, Jan., 1754, ref. 38.98.53.

³⁹ Diary, 18th July, 1753.

⁴⁰ Letter, Jan., 1754, ref. 38.98.53.

⁴¹ Letter, 7th June, 1754, ref. 38.98.54.

⁴² Letter from Sandy Point, 13th June, 1754.

A few months after this meeting with Clunie, Newton was obliged to give up the slave trade on account of a fit. Many years later, when he took an effective part in the Abolition movement, he declared that he "never had a scruple" about the lawfulness of the Trade while he was engaged in it, "nor was such a thought once suggested to me by any friend⁴⁴". But an entry in his diary eighteen months after he left the sea, describes the fit and says, "I was brought out of a way of life disagreeable to my temper and convenient to my profession⁴⁵"—he meant, of course, profession of faith.

In this matter of profession of faith, his new friend Clunie was persistent. Seven months after the first meeting of the two Captains, Newton wrote in his diary, "I desire to praise the Lord that of late I have had my mouth something opened and been willing to declare what God has done for my soul and am ashamed to think how long I hid my talent in a napkin and neglected to give God the glory of His free grace. My acquaintance with Clunie was greatly bless'd to me in this point⁴⁶".

While he was recovering his health and seeking a shore job, Newton spent the best part of a year at his wife's home in Chatham. He kept in close touch with Clunie, "Rec'd a letter from Clunie, he has been much exercised with outward and inward troubles—and so it is I find with everyone that is brought from darkness to light . . . He has more strength than me and is therefore call'd out to greater tryals⁴⁷", and again, "rec'd a letter from B. Clunie advising his arrival at St. Kitts for which I return my hearty thanks to ye Lord our preserver, he complains of much darkness and disorder in his frames since we parted⁴⁸".

On Clunie's advice Newton made a number of excursions to London to be "at the fountain-head for spiritual advantages⁴⁹". In *An Authentic Narrative*, written before Newton was ordained and published after he became curate of Olney, he said, "I first applied to Mr. Brewer, and chiefly attended upon his ministry when in town. From him I received many helps, both in public and private; for he was pleased to favour me with his friendship from the first. His kindness and the intimacy between us, has continued and increased to this day; and of all my many friends, I am most deeply indebted to him⁵⁰". Brewer enrolled Newton as

⁴³ Diary, 5th July, 1754.

⁴⁴ *Posthumous Works of John Newton*, Vol. 2, p. 251, London, 1809.

⁴⁵ Diary, June, 1756.

⁴⁶ Diary, 13th Feb., 1755.

⁴⁷ Diary, 25th June, 1755.

⁴⁸ Diary, 20th Aug., 1755.

⁴⁹ *An Authentic Narrative*, Letter 14.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

an occasional member of the Society which met at Stepney Congregational church on weekdays⁵¹.

Newton went often to Nonconformist lectures at Pinners' Hall and elsewhere; but from his diary it seems he went only once to an Anglican church in London, though he went more frequently to parish churches when he was in Kent. On Easter Sunday he received the sacrament in Barking parish church, where he said the priest was, "one of the few whom it has pleas'd God to stir up to preach free grace on that side⁵²". He went straight from Barking to hear Brewer at Stepney, and in the evening he went to Shakespear's Walk where the preacher was Samuel Hayward, a young Congregationalist who conducted Casuistical Lectures at Little St. Helens. Hayward was about thirty-five years old at this time and "particularly acceptable" to young people⁵³. His published lectures went into several editions. Newton described Hayward as "my second acquaintance (after Brewer) a man of choice spirit . . . I enjoyed his correspondence till near the time of his death"⁵⁴.

In June 1755 Brewer and Hayward introduced Newton to John Whitefield. Newton told his wife, "I drink tea at Mr. Haywards and then go to hear Mr. Wh. at ye Tabernacle as I shall tomorrow night and Sunday morning if I am well . . ."⁵⁵. This meeting with Whitefield was another turning point in Newton's life. In his diary he wrote, "Never before had I such an idea and foretast of ye business of heaven"⁵⁶. More significant was the next entry. He had been to Pinner's Hall to hear a sermon by Richard Rawlin⁵⁷ the Congregational minister of Fetter Lane, whose sermons were highly commended by Hervey⁵⁸, "here I percev'd an inconvenience wh. would perhaps ensue was I constantly to hear Mr. Whitfield preach, for tho' Mr. R's discourse was excellent, both for sound doctrine and comfortable application and I approv'd and admir'd it all, yet my heart was absent . . . were Mr. Whitfield constantly resident in one place, those who sat under him would run great risque of nesting in ye ordinances"⁵⁹.

Soon after this introduction to Whitefield, Newton began his nine years service in H.M. Customs, as Tide Surveyor at Liverpool.

⁵¹ Letter to Mary Newton, 6th June, 1755.

⁵² *John Newton*, by Josiah Bull, p. 59, London, 1868.

⁵³ *History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches*, by W. Wilson, Vol. 3, p. 111, London, 1808.

⁵⁴ *An Authentic Narrative*, Letter 14.

⁵⁵ Letter to Mary Newton, 6th June, 1755.

⁵⁶ Diary, 8th June, 1755. The full reference is published in my *John Newton*, p. 148, Heinemann, 1950.

⁵⁷ Rawlin was succeeded as Lecturer at Pinners' Hall by Samuel Brewer in 1758.

⁵⁸ *History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches*, by W. Wilson, Vol. 3, p. 456, London, 1808.

⁵⁹ Diary, 9th June, 1755.

THE PROJECTS OF DANIEL DEFOE

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It is a strange paradox that whereas Daniel Defoe is one of the most prolific and versatile writers who ever lived, he is known to the vast majority of his fellow-countrymen as the author of a single book. His *Robinson Crusoe* is indeed one of the most popular books in the English language and has been translated into almost every civilized tongue. Most Englishmen have read it and many have read it many times. As an adventure story it has never been surpassed, and it still holds the affection not only of boys but of their fathers too. Nevertheless very few know anything at all about the author beyond his name, and that in spite of the fact that his place in English literature would have been secure even if he had never been inspired by the adventures of Alexander Selkirk to write this immortal story. He was nearly sixty years old when *Robinson Crusoe* was published, and he had already produced no fewer than 100 publications of one sort or another, dealing with the most varied topics, and ranging from pamphlets of a few pages to books of considerable length. There was scarcely any subject of contemporary interest that did not engage his facile pen. He was a lover of controversy and excelled in debate, and in consequence made many enemies.

For some twenty years before he appeared on the scene as a novelist he had been in the public eye as a political pamphleteer, a social reformer, a moralist, an economist, a journalist, and a satirist in verse. Actually he wrote more verses of a sort than either Milton or Dryden, and it has been said that while in his enormous output he achieved few lines that are worth remembering, he never wrote nonsense.

It was in 1697 that he published his first considerable volume, *An Essay upon Projects*, in which he proposed to consider "effectual ways for advancing the interests of the Nation". By "Projects" he means any plans or undertakings which are for the benefit of the community at large. He instances such things as the supplying of London with water from the New River, the invention of the steam-engine and of a new metal for the casting of guns. He believes that this is particularly a "projecting" age and therefore claims the right to put forward some suggestions of his own. The *Essay* consists of some 350 pages, and deals with such diverse themes as the control of the banking system, the improvement and maintenance of highways, the institution of friendly and insurance societies, the provision of proper care of the insane, an improvement of the

procedure of bankruptcy, and establishment of Military Colleges and of schools for the education of women.

At the outset Defoe discusses taxation. He maintains that the rich are not paying their proper proportion, and in order to prevent evasion, Commissioners should be appointed to assess all personal property without fear or favour. There follows a discussion of possible fear or favour. Then comes a disquisition on the art of war as "the highest perfection of human knowledge" and an outstanding example of the usefulness of invention. It has a singularly modern sound and is well worth quoting on that ground. "The art of war is a sufficient proof of what I say, especially in conducting armies and in offensive engines. Witness the new ways of mines, fougards, entrenchments, attacks, lodgments, and a long et cetera of new inventions which want names, practised in sieges and encampments; witness the new sorts of bombs and unheard-of mortars of seven to ten ton weight, with which our fleets, standing two or three miles off at sea, can imitate God Almighty Himself, and rain fire and brimstone out of heaven, as it were, upon towns built on the firm land; witness also our new-invented Child of Hell, the machine which carries thunder, lightning, and earthquakes in its bowels, and tears up the most impregnable fortifications". And as for the reason why "this our age" swarms with such a multitude of projectors, Defoe points to the great depredations suffered by our shipping during the French War, the losses of merchant vessels and cargoes being estimated at 15 millions sterling. Next comes a brief history of 'Projects' and 'Projectors' from Noah's Ark to a recent scheme for raising the wreck of a Spanish ship laden with silver. He goes on to point out that this is "an age of projects" for the improvement of trade, the employment of the poor, and the circulation and increase of the public stock of the Kingdom. He complains however that many of these schemes are useless, and some of them even fraudulent. Companies are formed and capital is raised from the public for the exploitation of bogus enterprises, and immediately the money is raised the promoters sell out and leave many families to be ruined. In this connection, the stock-brokers come in for a share of condemnation. The flotation of public joint-stock companies like the East India Company and the Hudson Bay Company with a view to the extension of trade, had given rise to the new industry of stock-jobbing which, beginning with the occasional legitimate transfer of shares from one person to another, had become a means of gambling upon the rise and fall of the price of stock as manipulated by the brokers.

Defoe next turns his attention to the system of banking. Rightly managed banks can perform a great service in furnishing credit both to tradesmen and to the government. It is within their power to keep the rate of interest low, but in point of fact, inasmuch as they are

joint-stock enterprises, they are inclined, in the interests of the shareholders, to keep the rate of interest high. Moreover, they are too slow and cautious, too insistent upon adequate security, with the result that tradesmen prefer to borrow from the goldsmiths even if it costs more. Defoe therefore suggests that the banks should be under public supervision and of a magnitude proportioned to public needs. The Bank of England¹, though able to finance the Wars, has not sufficient capital at its disposal for all the business it might undertake, with the result that small banks multiply too rapidly. The capital of the Bank of England should be increased to 5 millions, and it should be expected to advance money on bills of lading so as to enable the tradesman to secure his rebate for prompt payment. Incidentally it is a matter of regret that the Government in its charter to the Bank of England did not fix a minimum rate of interest for loans. What is needed is a Royal or National Bank with affiliated provincial establishments on a municipal or county basis so as to keep the Bank in touch with local conditions, and with special departments covering every aspect of trade and exchange.

Defoe next turns to consider the improvement of the public highways in construction, repair and management. While the Roman roads still existing in the country showed what great importance the Romans attached to this means of communication, the roads of the country were now in a shocking state, with the result that so far from facilitating trade, they acted as barriers and obstacles. Defoe proposes an easy and inexpensive method of improvement and maintenance. Parliament is to authorize the appointment of Commissioners in each county charged with the task of levelling, draining, and widening the roads, and removing obstacles, with power to take in any land that might be necessary, with due regard for the right of owners to claim compensation. They should also have the power to press into their service vehicles, horses, and men, at a fixed rate of payment. Defoe points out that many roads that are little better than quagmires have wide stretches of land on either side trodden down by travellers in the endeavour to avoid the pitfalls of the boggy and rut-scarred roads, and hence made useless for agriculture or anything else. He suggests that by giving the reconstructed roads a precise width, much of this useless land can be enclosed, made fit for cultivation, and let out to tenants, thus furnishing a permanent source of income towards the maintenance fund. Moreover, each county, town or parish should be rated on a basis of eight years cost of repair, to be paid, not in cash, but in the services of vehicles and men. Convicted criminals, instead of being transported, might well work

¹ Established in 1694 as a chartered company of Merchants who, in return for a large loan to the Government were allowed special facilities in carrying on their business as bankers. It gradually became the agent of the State in managing the National Debt.

out their punishment by labour on the roads (poetic justice in the case of highwaymen). Defoe calculates that a constant 200 workers could be provided from this source, and at next to no cost. Two hundred negroes also might be employed. The cost of maintenance could very largely be met by erecting cottages with suitable allotments at convenient distances along the roads, and housing therein persons at present unemployed, who should have their cottages rent free in return for their labour on the road. It should be the duty of each of these men to survey his particular stretch of the road every day, to fill up holes, to repair ditches and so forth. By these means the roads would be safer from thieves and accidents, while the cottagers would always be at hand to give guidance to the traveller uncertain of his way. In addition, sign-posts at every corner should indicate both direction and distance; and finally, inspectors constantly moving along the roads on horse-back should see that the cottagers were doing their duty.

The financial arrangements suggested by Defoe, whether practicable or not, are certainly ingenious. Apart from the sources of income already mentioned, he thinks that some of the cost might be raised by voluntary contributions, presumably from grateful travellers. The balance of the money could be raised by an eight years' tax which should yield £30,000 per annum. At the end of eight years the work would, in Defoe's opinion, be self-supporting, and in the meantime the scheme should be backed by a Government loan.

There follow proposals respecting insurances and Friendly Societies. Defoe approves the insurance of ships' cargoes against wreck, as well as insurance against fire, and against the loss of titles of land, etc., but strangely enough excludes life-insurance, except perhaps in countries like Italy, where murder is so frequent. Dealing with Friendly Societies as consisting of a number of people who enter into a mutual compact to help one another in case they are involved in any disaster or distress, he makes many useful suggestions. He recognizes that the principle is capable of extension to all manner of casualties and contingencies provided the members are drawn from the same or similar conditions of life and therefore have to face similar contingencies. Otherwise some would get more and others less than their due. He even goes so far as to suggest that the nations might form a Friendly Society for the common suppression of disturbers of the peace, thus anticipating in some measure our 20th century attempts at a League of Nations and U.N.O. aiming at collective security.

Defoe would extend the Friendly Society principle to merchant seamen and destitute widows, pointing out that whereas naval ratings receive pensions for such injuries as the loss of a limb, or an eye, etc., there is no such compensation in the merchant service.

for widows and other destitute persons, Defoe would set up a pensions office in every county to receive deposits from the poor in order to provide for their support in sickness, permanent injury, or old age. Under these proposals, even bankrupts might receive pensions for their subsistence while in prison.

Under the heading "Of Fools", Defoe points out that while those who have lost the reason they once enjoyed are housed in Bedlam, for genital idiots are not provided for. For the care of these, whom he describes as "a particular Rent-charge on the Great Family of Mankind", he urges the erection of an institution, the cost of which should be met by a tax on brains to be paid by the authors of books in proportion to their size (a punishment to fit the crime?). He believes that such a tax paid for twenty years would suffice for the building and furnishing of a suitable house. Defoe hardly expects his suggestion to be taken seriously. He therefore proposes as a more practicable alternative that the money should be raised by means of a charity lottery. Under this scheme, the trustees of the charity should issue 100,000 tickets at £1 each, thus bringing in 100,000. This money should be held for 4 years by the Exchequer, which should pay interest to the trustees at the rate of 6 per cent per annum—£6,000 a year for 4 years. At the end of that time the prizes are to be distributed in full. The essence of the scheme is that it is to be put into hands of reputable people, inasmuch as lotteries have fallen into disrepute through fraud and mismanagement. A characteristic feature, reflecting Defoe's real goodness of heart, is the provision that the asylum should be placed at some distance from London in order to prevent people from paying it a visit for the purpose of making sport of the wretched inmates.

The author next puts forward certain proposals respecting bankruptcy, of which he himself has had bitter experience. The current laws enable a creditor to ruin a debtor at will and beyond all hope of recovery. Their severity is designed to prevent fraudulent bankruptcy, but bears hardly upon the honest but unfortunate trader, while only too often the fraudulent escape. Thus the law defeats its own purpose, and Defoe makes detailed proposals for the setting up of a court of commissioners who shall determine how a bankrupt's estate shall be dealt with, and shall thus protect both bankrupt and creditor against fraud on the one side and harsh proceeding on the other.

Next come proposals for the establishment of academies to supply certain much-needed forms of education. The first of these should be an institution on the lines of the French Academy (recently founded by Louis XIV), to encourage polite learning, to refine and correct the English language, and to prevent vulgarism and barbarism of manners and of speech. A similar proposal was to be made to King William by Prior in 1700, and again to Lord

Oxford by Swift in 1710². One of the points which Defoe insists upon is the need for the suppression of profane swearing. While exposing the utter senselessness of what he calls "that lewdness of the tongue, the scum and excrement of the mouth" he recognizes that it cannot be abolished either by Parliament or by the magistrates. He therefore appeals to the gentlemen of England to set the example. If they were to drop this vice it would soon grow odious and out of fashion.

Defoe's next recommendation, which he personally regarded as the most noble and useful in his book, was for the establishment of an Academy for Military Studies. He declares that because the English are too indolent in peace-time to prepare for war, it always takes them a year after the declaration of war to get into their stride; and that is why King William has had to rely upon his Dutch Generals, to the chagrin of the less efficiently trained English officers. Defoe therefore makes elaborate suggestions for a Military Academy³ in order that England may always be ready for war under trained and competent leaders.

A third type of academy suggested by Defoe is to be concerned with the education of women. He would have a college for women in every county and ten in London. Defoe has a much higher opinion of womanhood than was customary in his time. He refuses to believe that God has made women so delicate in order that they should be mere domestic slaves. "Without partiality", he says, "a woman of sense and manners is the finest and most delicate part of God's creation, the glory of her Maker, and the great instance of his singular regard towards his darling creature, to whom he gave the best gift either God could bestow or man receive. And 'tis the most sordid piece of folly and ingratitude in the world to withhold from the sex the due lustre which the advantages of education give to the natural beauty of their minds. A woman well-bred and well-taught furnished with the additional accomplishments of knowledge and behaviour, is a creature without comparison; her society is the emblem of sublime enjoyments; her person is angelic and her conversation heavenly; she is all softness, and sweetness, peace, love, wit and delight; she is everyway suitable to the sublimest wish; and the man that has such an one to his portion, has nothing to do but to rejoice in her, and be thankful". It has been remarked that these sentences are among the finest things ever written by a man concerning women, and that no writer of the time, save Steele, could have treated them in so chivalrous and respectful a manner⁴.

² See Dennis *The Age of Pope*, pp. 182-3.

³ With a supplementary Academy for Military Exercises.

⁴ Forster, *op. cit.*, p. 22. Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-2.

Leaving the academies Defoe goes on to suggest the establishment of Courts Merchant to deal with purely commercial disputes. Such cases, he argues, are often quite wrongly decided in the ordinary Courts owing to ignorance on the part of judges, juries and counsel, respecting commercial usages, especially in so far as they relate to particular localities. He therefore proposes a Council of Merchants to deal expeditiously and knowledgeably with commercial cases, with a Court of Appeal of six Justices drawn from among the most considerable merchants in the locality concerned.

The writer's final suggestion concerns the better protection of sailors by the registration of all seamen of the United Kingdom. Merchant sailors need to be protected from press-gang violence, and also from the hardship of unemployment, while at the same time captains and owners need to be protected from exorbitant wage-demands. Defoe therefore suggests a system of State-employment and State-payment of all seamen. Being registered at a particular office they will be bound to prompt obedience to a call from that office to join a particular ship—thus obviating the irritating and costly delays so frequently involved in the collecting of crews. As for wages, the captain will pay them into the office, and the office will pay the seamen—full wages if working, and half-wages if temporarily unemployed.

And so we come to the end of this remarkable piece of work, which, however much it may be lacking in unity and orderliness of arrangement, yet "displays Defoe's lively and lucid style in full vigour, and abounds with ingenious thought and apt illustrations"⁵. He characterises the book as a "remarkable embodiment of Defoe's benevolence, sagacity and foresight" and goes on to say of the writer, "that he was at least a century in advance of his age is apparent from the fact that nearly all the national and philanthropic measures he propounded have since been practically effected"⁶. It may be true, as some assert, that the whole credit of these ideas is not to be attributed to Defoe, inasmuch as they were floating about in the air at the time⁷. Nevertheless it was no small achievement to give to them an embodied form as practical proposals. Mr. W. P. Trent—no friendly critic—has to confess that the general reader is left wondering at the man's "versatility and modernity, particularly in matters relating to education, insurance and the treatment of seamen"⁸. Here already we have the manifestation of that amazing combination of imagination, ingenuity, audacity, and sound commonsense that is to come to its fullest expression in *Robinson Crusoe*. One indication of the significance of the

⁵ *Encyclopaedia Brit.* 11th Edition Vol. 7. p. 927b.

⁶ *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁷ Minto, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁸ *op. cit.*, p. 7.

Essay on Projects for its own age is afforded by the acknowledgment on the part of Benjamin Franklin that the reading of the book in his father's library had a good deal to do with the shaping of his own mind. There can be no doubt that if Defoe had never written anything else but the *Essay upon Projects* his title to genius would have been assured, and it is worth while perhaps to record that at the time when this work was published, Pope was in the cradle, Addison and Steele were schoolboys at Charterhouse, Henry St. John was reading Greek at Christ Church, and Swift was employed as amanuensis to Sir William Temple earning his board and £20 a year⁹.

At least one of Defoe's Projects, that which concerned the law of bankruptcy, was realized in his own lifetime. In 1706 Parliament passed an "Act to Prevent Frauds committed by Bankrupts". Defoe hailed the bill with great joy and while it was under discussion did his utmost to secure its passing. "In his Review he pointed out the imperfections of the law as it at present stood, describing the imprisonment without bail or distinction of circumstances, and the power of creditors to punish a debtor with life-long imprisonment for claims which could never be paid, as barbarous and inhuman. He also alludes to his own grievous losses from fraudulent debtors, and insists that a distinction should be made between those who are fraudulently bankrupt and those who become bankrupt through no fault of their own¹⁰". When the Act was passed he published an able pamphlet on the whole subject.

Defoe immediately took advantage of the new Act to free himself from the incessant persecution he had suffered for 14 years at the hands of his creditors. He surrendered to the Commissioners who had been appointed under the Act. "He gave up all he possessed, with full accounts of the balance of his affairs; beginning at his first business misfortunes, fourteen years previous, and including the completion of his ruin in prison. After four severe examinations on oath . . . the commissioners seem to have been fully satisfied with his conduct¹¹". And so at long last he was free of his creditors.

⁹ Vide Forster, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

¹⁰ Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-5.

¹¹ *ibid.*

EARLY ENGLISH VERSIONS OF THE SCRIPTURES

BY JOAN M. FRAYN, B.A., PH.D.

THE versions of the Bible which were made in Old and Middle English are not so often consulted now as those of Wyclif and his successors. Since, however, it was permissible until 1408 for English translations to be made, and since there were also many French versions available, the Bible was known to our forefathers from many other sources beside the Latin versions. Moreover, passages of Scripture and kindred writings were sometimes translated into Anglo-Saxon in prayer-books and service-books for the use of the clergy. From all these works, and also from the profusion of religious poetry and prose written in Old and Middle English, we may gain some notion of the attitude of the early inhabitants of this land to Christianity. The Christian religion has never lost by variety of interpretation, often indeed it has gained greatly. Those who translate the Scriptures into the languages of primitive communities today often assert that their own understanding of the Gospel is deepened thereby. Then surely it may be profitable to us to look over the shoulder of an early English scribe as he expresses his native language for his own people a Gospel which he learnt in a foreign tongue.

In studying these early English versions of Scripture we are not, of course, looking for accuracy and textual purity. We realize that most of the manuscripts of the Bible available to the earliest Christians in Britain were inaccurate Latin versions, copied and re-copied by scribes who often had only an imperfect knowledge of the language. Hence the perplexity of the scribe who in the Lindisfarne Gospels translated 'malum' as 'evyl or apoltre'. Those who have themselves puzzled over the many possible meanings of the Latin word 'malum' will sympathize with him. This is not the stuff of accurate scholarship and criticism, but we are looking for something else, and in this quest we shall range freely over the available sources from the eighth century A.D. to the fourteenth, using all types of religious literature, but chiefly the New Testament. During this long period considerable changes took place both in the language and the population of Britain, but our purpose here is to make a general survey of the field and for that a long period is preferable. In surveying the possible advantages to be gained from study of the early English Scriptures, we are dealing with all versions prior to Wyclif and Coverdale as a whole, and one reason

for this is that the translators of 1611, while using extensively the versions of the fourteenth century and later, do not often seem to have availed themselves of the earlier material. This was no doubt because they desired to produce their version in a polished literary language. Since it was only in the last century that the vernacular style of parts of the original Scriptures was generally recognized as such, the advantages of a vernacular rendering have only recently been fully appreciated. Indeed, for this very reason, our glimpses of the real opinions of the Anglo-Saxon translators will be few, since they usually endeavoured to translate the Latin word for word, and often preferred to borrow a Latin term rather than profane the Gospel with a native and natural expression. For this reason we shall seek outside the canon of Scripture for further light upon the hints we discover within it.

The Anglo-Saxons had one priceless advantage in their approach to the Bible. They represented a level of culture much nearer than our own to that of the peasants in ancient Palestine. They were seafarers and shepherds, and they wrested a living from a poor countryside under very hard conditions. How close to the soil was the life even of the church dignitaries may be noted in the lives of saints in Bede's Ecclesiastical History and in the well-known story of Caedmon. Many of the stories Bede tells us of the saints concern simple agriculture and the ways of wild birds and beasts. There is Chad taking his axe with him to the monastery: 'denoting, that he did not go to the monastery to live idle, as some do, but to labour, which he also confirmed by practice'¹. Also there is St. Cuthbert, planting wheat in a poor soil, and later trying barley instead. It is true that Palestine had not the 'frost-cold sea', nor were its people 'winter-sad'. Therefore the Hebrews would not have included in their vision of heaven such words as those of Richard Rolle (c. A.D. 1340):

Thare es ay somer fulle bryght to se,
And never mare wynter in that contre.

Similarly, the translator of a French Harmony of the Gospels² said of John the Baptist that he lived, not on 'locusts and wild honey', but on 'ramesones and wilde-nepes', that is, garlic and bryony. Even this, however, though hardly accurate, adds to the vividness of the narrative. The comparatively primitive nature of Anglo-Saxon society and language is the reason also for the identity or close connection between their words for health and holiness, healing and saving, a very enlightening conception obscured by later usage.

Our forefathers were not only shepherds and seafarers, but also warriors, and for this reason, if they did not always catch the spirit of the New Testament, they well understood the Lord of Hosts, or

¹ The translation is from the Everyman edition.

² *The Pepysian Gospel Harmony*, edited by M. Goates for the Early English Text Society, 1922.

Lord of Victories as they sometimes called Him. They tended to confer upon Jesus Christ some of the martial attributes which were valued, and sometimes to good effect. While in some Anglo-Saxon manuscripts the disciple of Jesus is called a 'leorning cniht', valiant-lad, in the Lindisfarne especially he is a 'thane'. This is not merely a random choice of word. Moreover it does not mean simply servant, for when Anglo-Saxon writers desired to emphasize their subjection to the will of God they called themselves 'theowas godes', for example does Bede in the preface addressed to King Ceolwulf. The use of 'thane' is reinforced by the occasional appearance also of the word 'magu-thegn' in religious poetry and by the phrase in a legal document 'maesse-thegn and woruld thegn'³. The thane was more than a servant, and his relation to his master was one of high loyalty and chivalry, as indeed was that of the master to the thane. Consequently it is a most apt title for a disciple of Christ, and if it carries some hint of the battlefield, that is at any rate just as appropriate as the Latin word with its suggestion of the classroom.

It is worth noting in this connection that the Lindisfarne Gospels are translated a little more freely than some other versions and the language is allowed to retain some of its pagan associations and its rural vigour. This can be seen in such words as 'symbeldaeg', feast-day, for the Sabbath, where 'symbel' is the characteristic word for the feasting of the thanes in their lord's hall, a Teutonic feast of mead, mead and minstrelsy. Other versions have 'restedaeg'. Again, it is the writer of the Lindisfarne gloss who tries to make sense of the passage in Luke xvi.17, 'But it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one tittle of the law to fall'. 'One tittle' is rendered 'an merce' or 'staefes heafu', one mark or the head of a spear, whereas in other manuscripts we find merely 'an merce'.

The tendency in Old English religious poetry, outside the Scriptures, to use martial terms in speaking of Christ and to make him a heroic figure of their own style, has often been remarked. To take an example only one poem, 'The Dream of the Rood' (eighth century), we find Christ pictured as a warrior-king. He is also called 'aetheling' or nobleman. His friends are called warriors or thanes. The story of the crucifixion begins: 'Then the young warrior, who was God Almighty, stripped himself, strong andolute'. And later, 'he rested there, weary after the great struggle'. However strange this may seem to us, such a point of view has one great virtue—it does not weaken the character and physical capacity of Christ in his human life, as some later conceptions have tended to do. In fact, so lasting was the effect of this heroic Christianity that traces of it can be discerned in writings of the fourteenth century. In a translation of the Pauline Epistles, from the Parker MS., we

³ For further examples see *The Influence of Christianity on the Vocabulary of English*, by H. S. McGillivray, 1902, in *Studien zur Englischen Philologie*, VI, 9.

find that II Timothy ii.3 reads, 'Travel thou as the knyght of jesu Christ', and verse 4, 'For no man knyghthodande to god ymplies hymselfe with marchawndisis or secular herendys'⁴. Of course the word 'cniht' originally meant merely a boy or servant, and in compounds such as 'leorning-cniht' was often applied to the disciples, but by the time the above version was made it meant more than that. Indeed we are not far from Chaucer's 'verray parfit, gentil knyght'. In this translation of verse 4, it is also noteworthy that emphasis is obtained in the English by expanding the Latin *negotiis secularibus*. The English words 'marchawndisis or secular herendys', which might be said to mean 'commerce or secular occupations in general' successfully render both the possible meanings of the Latin *negotium*.

In passing we should note that although a cniht or a knight was a fighting man, the words have not the same association as our word 'soldier'. A knight fought on his own initiative and his loyalties and his standards were essentially personal. Another example of the warrior motif is in a less scholarly work, one of the many verse renderings of the life of Christ. Where the story of the Harrowing of Hell is told it is said of Christ:

When he as a robbur comen was
Schynnyng and ferdful on to se,
Adred develes in that place
And askeden ushone, what was he
That was so grym and ful of grace . . .⁵

This use of the word 'grym', which has special warlike associations, meaning here 'formidable', sums up a tradition that is not very familiar to us. Yet such has been its attraction for later generations that we still sing of Christ calling men 'to gain his everlasting hall'. Though the words were written in the nineteenth century and are an intentional imitation, it is still the 'hall of the thanes'.

Among early English ideas of Christ's character, we may include the use of the word 'debonair', which, though it denotes a gentle quality alien to the more primitive thane, is quite in keeping with the knightly virtues. In the Gospel Harmony of the Pepysian manuscript we find that the Beatitudes begin thus: 'Yblissed be the gostful povere: for the blis of hevene so is hires. Yblissed be the bonair: for hij schullen have the londe'. Again in one of the paragraph headings we find Christ teaching the disciples 'that hij mosten loven her enemyes, and ben deboneire and suffrande in alle thinges'. It is not surprising to find this word here, in a translation from the French, for it is thus used in the French version of the Bible today. The word 'bonair' or 'deboneire' is not so ambiguous as our word 'meek', and its later history supports the suggestion that it implies

⁴ *The Pauline Epistles*, MS. Parker 32, edited for the Early English Text Society by M. J. Powell.

⁵ Early English Text Society, No. 166, edited by G. A. Foster, 1926.

a sturdier quality. Other notable words in the former quotation are 'gostful povere', which seem to translate this difficult phrase almost as well as more recent versions.

Lest, however, we should convey the impression that the early versions were merely quaint and that the translators were satisfied with a low standard of scholarship, let us now observe the care which was lavished upon the work. We note first that in cases of doubt the writers of the Anglo-Saxon glosses provided two, or sometimes three, alternative translations of one word or phrase. Moreover, there was a general preference, hardening into an established rule, whereby it was customary to place the Latin version line by line beside the Anglo-Saxon translation. The Wycliffite and other heretical versions of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries can often be distinguished from those permitted by the Church because the heretical versions were not usually accompanied by the Latin. This insistence upon the inclusion of the Latin, which is stated by some of the translators, might be taken to indicate a desire for accuracy. It is perhaps unfortunate that the same custom was never applied with regard to the original languages of the Bible. There may, however, be a trace here of a reverence for the verbal inspiration of the Latin version, as it is often felt for the modern English versions. If so, it is an interesting link between the Roman respect for the written word, which resulted in the use of the Sibylline books and later in the *sortes Vergilianae*, and the strict interpretation placed in more modern times upon the exact words of the English Bible.

It is possible that the clerics who made the Old English versions had some slight knowledge of Greek, as well as Latin. For some of their most successful translations of Latin words suggest a knowledge of the exact meaning of the original Greek word. One example of this is the word 'apostle'. While some writers were content with 'apostol' or 'postol', of which the latter form was probably in popular use, the word 'aerendwreca' is often found. It is true that this expression, literally 'errand-doer' or 'message-doer', might be used because the meaning of 'apostolus' was inferred from the context, but it is a surprisingly apt equivalent for a noun from ἀποστέλλω. At any rate it means careful and thoughtful reading. Another example of this care is in the translation of 'prophet', for which the usual Old English equivalent is 'witega', wise man, an ancient word meaning originally the heathen soothsayer, which is probably most appropriately used when applied to the Magi. But occasionally in poetry and elsewhere other words appear: 'boda', a 'proclaimer', rooted in the verb 'to say', just as was the Greek προφήτης; and a compound of this, 'spellboda'. In dealing with Hebrew ideas the early English Christians were not always so

discerning. While 'aldormann' is a reasonably accurate title for a Pharisee, 'maesse-preost' does not really suit the high priest of the Jewish religion. Nor is Joseph of Arimathæa quite in character when described in the Pepsian Gospel Harmony as 'a noble rich baroun, goode and rightful, that hadde X knightes to his banere'.

In spite of all their errors, however, these people can teach us something about what they called the 'shining faith', and perhaps we have said enough here to suggest that the English Bible was a great and spirited work even before 1611. In some places it was perhaps more vigorous than later versions. One cannot help feeling, for example, that English readers would understand Mary Magdalene better when she said: "Ha! Swete sir!" than when she says: "Rabboni". Those who made our more efficient translations of the Bible lived at the end of the glorious Elizabethan age, or in the nineteenth century, but the men who made these earlier versions did not live in times of confident progress. For some of them Christmas Eve was still Midwinter's-mass Eve, as we note from the margin of the Corpus Christi Gospels. Even in a Christian service-book we find a relic of more primitive pagan belief. An office for the visitation of the sick includes the following words: 'My dere son or doughtere in god, hyt semith that thou hyst the faste in the way fro this life to godward, there thou schalt cee al thy forme-fadris, apostelis, martiris, confessouris and virgynis, and all men and women that bene saved; and fore gladnes of suche felauschip be thou of good confort in god, thynke hou thou muste after this lyfe leye a stoon in the wall of the cite of hevene, sclely withouten noise or strife, and therefore, or thou wende out of this world, thou polissch thi stoon and make it redi, gif thou wolt not there be lettid. This stoon is thy soule. . . ' The comparison of the soul to a stone, though unsuitable to Christian doctrine, was common among primitive peoples and stones were often held sacred⁶. We are reminded (C. Squire, *The Mythology of the British Islands*) that "sacred stones were equally taken under the ægis of Christianity. Some were placed on the altars of cathedrals, others built into consecrated walls". So were the bulwarks of our faith constructed.

Christian customs at that time had only a precarious existence, and then as now the pagan hordes were very near. How well we know the state of society such as Bishop Wulfstan described in the eleventh century, when men are more ashamed of doing good than of doing evil. In those circumstances the religious man was the 'æfaest man'—the man of firm law. But his God was the Guardian of humanity, for as the psalm said: 'He knew oure britil making'⁷.

⁶ For such beliefs in Britain, and for the 'external soul', see Frazer, *The Golden Bough*.

⁷ *Hereford's Psalter*, c. A.D. 1380.

SOME LAPSED DISSENTERS: A STUDY IN ECCLESIASTICAL PATHOLOGY¹

BY BERNARD MANNING, M.A.

Two or three summers ago some Dissenting minister in some West of England town renounced the sacred Ministry of the Word and Sacraments to which he had been ordained; and, entering the Anglican body as a layman, proposed to seek a second ordination; ordination, I can only suppose, to the same Ministry of the same Word and Sacraments. These events seemed to him a bit of an occasion; and by an interview with "our special correspondent" he took steps to point out in the *Daily Telegraph* what is called the significance of his action. His action, the *Telegraph* learned, was significant of a widespread and important movement that has been going from the Ministry of the Free Churches to that of the Establishment. This movement has not received the public attention that it merits, because it has been carefully and rather successfully concealed by official precautions in the Free Churches; but were the figures and the so-called "true facts" for the last ten years to be revealed, they would surprise at any rate our special correspondent. Our special correspondent, one knows, is easily surprised: his life is spent in a trivial round of unique events and unparalleled records of one kind and another; but this hint about the hidden hand in our Dissenting midst aroused my naïve curiosity. If it be true that so many of our brightest and best are making off under a smoke screen issued from the Memorial Hall, we had better know about it. I propose, therefore, to defy that efficient department of the Congregational Union, the department for the Prevention of the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. I propose, with your connivance, to drag the horrid truth into the light. But the almost Anglican good taste and restraint of the ex-Dissenter will not restrain *me*. Why should we content ourselves with the truth about ten years? Why should we enquire only about ministers? I propose to spread my net much wider than that, and to spare neither age nor sex: men, women, and clergymen (according to the old French classification) they are all for it.

The result will be a very unsavoury and unedifying paper. I regret this, but it is inevitable. You cannot play with pitch and not be tarred. Even a Jesus² man cannot. My paper is sure to leave what is vulgarly, but expressively, called a nasty taste in the mouth. On reflection to-morrow you will discover that I have made

¹ A paper read to the Cambridge University Congregational Society on Sunday, 25th October, 1931.

² Jesus College, Cambridge.

many ill-advised and ill-bred observations; but we will leave regrets over till the proper time for them—the morning after the night before. For some years I have had my fill of the airs of ex-Dissenters, and for to-night at least I propose to enjoy myself thoroughly on an unregenerate Dissenter's night out. If to-morrow I regret much that I have said as being of poor taste and doubtful utility I shall be in only the same state of mind as gentlemen after what is called (I believe) a party. The head may ache; the eyes may seem to have nails driven in somewhere from the back; the dinner jacket may be the worse for wear; but as the criminal remembers some of the brighter incidents and re-reads the admonitions on the menu card, he feels that it was worth while. And so, I hope, I shall not be too repentant.

Some lapsed Dissenters: the lapsing of Dissenters, like all Gaiety and the May Races, is divided into three parts, the lapse may be towards Anglicanism or Romanism or Secularism. It may be objected that these are over-fine distinctions for the plain man; but I wish in no way to fail in charity towards our separated brethren. This then seems to be the place to remind you of my title: *Some lapsed Dissenters*. I am not treating of all, but only of those who suffer from inadequate ecclesiastical nourishment. Some indeed leave us to find in Anglicanism and Romanism at any rate their natural home. Nature has made them Anglicans or Romans and grace has not made them Dissenters. With them I am not dealing; nor am I much dealing with those who cease to be Dissenters because they cease in any way to be religious. The interesting pathological study is not among those who transfer or renounce their ecclesiastical allegiance because it is strong and healthy or because it is dead; the interesting cases are those who retain some sort of ecclesiastical life but a life that is weak or corrupt or diseased.

Before getting down to the serious part of the subject we shall have to spend a considerable time in clearing up a certain amount of litter, or it may bother and trip us up. When we view as a whole the movement in English society away from Dissent, we find that it is an old and reputable movement. It began at least as early as the time when Mr. Pepys wrote his diary, when the Clarendon Code finally ended any chance of establishing orthodox Genevan churchmanship as the established religion of England, and made all Calvinistic churchmen Dissenters. Men discussed the Movement away from Dissent in the 18th century, and even wrote papers about it. It is nothing new. It is interesting to speculate on what would have happened to the Anglican body if ex-Dissenters had not continued from 1662 to feed it. Among the ex-Dissenters familiar in the whole period there stand not very prominently those who have left Dissent as one incident in their upward climb in

society. For at all times, in all places, and in all persons English Dissent has an unfailing characteristic: *quod semper, quod ubique, et quod ab omnibus*—it is the test of Dissent as well as catholicity—and the unfailing characteristic of Dissent is this: *it is not done*. You may be a Papist, for some decent foreigners are that. You may be a Christian Scientist, for everyone is entitled to one crank; you may be an agnostic or a Quaker, for these do not compete with the idea of the Church which good Society has approved—they merely ignore it. But to accept the idea of a Church and then to tell good Society it has not constructed its Church quite right, to offer a competing pattern: that is still the unforgivable sin of orthodox Dissent. There is then to-day, as there has been always, a large company of ex-Dissenters who left Dissent as a perfectly natural, appropriate, and necessary part of their social evolution. If you look at the matter apart from religious prejudice, there is obviously nothing to be said for remaining a Dissenter when you are lucky enough to be on the make. There have been a few stable societies; where social climbing was not easy, where it was almost impossible to leave that state of life in which it had pleased God to call you—in a country town, say 70 years ago—but such stable social conditions are, and always have been rare in England. *The Tatler*, *The Bystander*, the *Morning Post*, and at times Mr. Galsworthy, indulge in the myth of primeval county people who carry on a heroic struggle against the parvenu. The University correspondents of the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily Herald* indulge in the corresponding myth about the opening of places of privilege in our days for the first time to self-made men. The historian smiles. It has always been so. Social climbers are the oldest and toughest element in English social life. It may be that the pace can be accelerated a little to-day, and the area of the activity enlarged, but that is all.

We begin then with this type of ex-Dissenter: the man who realizes that a career is open to the talented; but that a certain pruning is necessary for success. For such men and women chapel-going is merely one of the many undesirable habits that must be dropped in the struggle towards the light. Happily it is easier to drop than some other habits: the control of the aspirate, for instance, is more difficult and hardly less necessary; so is the problem of tying correctly the two-ended tie, the knowledge when brown shoes may and may not be worn, and the dreadful conundrum about when to say *Mrs. Smith* and when to say *my wife*. Faced with such problems the climber finds it well to begin with something easy, and the abandonment of Dissent, if not adequate, is at any rate good as far as it goes. It has the additional advantage

of being an economy at a moment in one's career, when most new social habits mean increased expenses all round.

The desirability of shedding Dissent being, for persons of this class, obvious, what are they to be? Formerly there was but one course open to them: they must be, or at least appear to be, Anglicans. I say *appear to be* advisedly, for it gives me the opportunity of paying a tribute to the public spirit and self-sacrifice of this class of social climber which has received too little public recognition. The man who for the sake of social progress decides to join the Anglican body is indeed doing something for which his children may have cause to rise up and call him blessed; but it is something from which he himself will derive little benefit. For, to tell the truth, no man, by taking thought, can become an Anglican. Anglicans, like poets, are born, not made. Genuine Anglicanism is one of the very finest things that this country has produced or can produce; I yield to no one in my affectionate appreciation of it; but it is like an English village or the Oxford manner or a sincere liking for roast beef and plum pudding. It is a growth of ages. More than one generation must contribute to it. Its essence is too subtle and too delicate to be produced at will. The strong and beautiful and Christian part of Anglicanism is its unconscious part. As soon as it becomes self-conscious, it becomes strident and unbeautiful. The man who chooses to be an Anglican is by definition no Anglican. The Anglican does not choose: he occurs. Anglicanism is like many other good things: it is instinctive: you can lose it, but you cannot concoct it. To want to be an Anglican, if you were not born one, is like wanting to be the seventh son of a seventh son, or an Etonian, or a Russian, or a man with red hair. It may be doubted whether such ambitions are laudable or criminal: the one thing that is not doubtful about them, but quite certain, is that they are unattainable.

The children of our would-be Anglican may then be Anglicans. They may be bred to it, as they may be taught to ride to hounds, or to stand for desirable London clubs—activities which their prudent papa would not be so ill-advised as to attempt for himself. For himself the best he can hope to be is an ex-Dissenter. He may be confirmed; he may be vicar's warden; he may be ordained, but an ex-Dissenter he is and remains—no Anglican. That strident note of protest against the hated thing that he has left gives him away. Our ex-Dissenter of the first generation has an earnestness, an enthusiasm, a narrowness, a rancour which betrays him. His children may bring it off, but for himself he has banished himself, for the good of his family, with no hope of release, to the limbo reserved for ex-Dissenters, for men who make the great refusal, but are denied by mocking fate the fruit of their labours. His children shall enter the Promised Land, but in him verily is the

old doom fulfilled. "Your little ones shall know the land; but as for you, your carcases, they shall fall in this wilderness".

Do you think I exaggerate the sufferings of these unfortunates? I assure you I am guilty of understatement. Come to our village. Mrs. Thompson may go as often as she likes to the parish Church of St. Edmund's; she may organize jumble sales, whist drives. She may entertain rural deans and bishops. She may sneer at Dissenters or condescendingly enquire about the way they do things and compare their methods with "ours" as St. Edmund's: but it profits her nothing. What do the Methodists say at the Post Office? What do the bred-in-the-bone Anglicans say at the White Hart? "Ay t'll be Mrs. Thompson ut mad aw' t' fuss in t' quire at Church. Nivver likely Ned Potter and Bill Atkinson would be ruled by her. Why she's nobbot gone to t' Church since Ant'ny got into t' Army. Nay, I can tell of her as a li'le lass, when she lived wi' her owd aunt Lizzie ut kept t' shop on t' scar next to t' midden. Eh, she were a wonderful Chapel body were owd Lizzie and Mrs. Thompson—Nay, she'd better a bided quietly at t' Chapel. But she thinks folk forgets all yon. By Gock but we're not all that daft".

England is and always has been full of Mrs. Thompsons: bless them! People who married—or hoped to marry—solicitors and doctors and bankers; tradesmen who have got on; people who moved to a new town and took occasion to shed Dissent with other parts of a better forgotten past. It is a jolly game running them down: a sort of practical sociology. It ought to be made a special subject in the new Sociology Tripos, because Cambridge is so rich in specimens. Most College Combination rooms provide specimens of the ex-Dissenter: a few of the worse Colleges provide little else. Dante tells somewhere of a certain family which because of its activities in the past, "blushed to hear the bushel named". There are many who—though for a different reason from Dante's friends—as they blush to hear the fish shop or the café named, blush also to hear the Chapel named.

You will be glad to learn that the sufferings of this class of persons have been reduced in recent years. In all but a very few backward villages the ex-Dissenter has a second option. He need not figure as an imitation Anglican. He can drop the whole Church business, and this second course is to be recommended. To be a decent Anglican, you must be born an Anglican; to be a decent pagan, it is only necessary to abandon Dissent. It is within the power of any intelligent person, at a moderate expense, in two seasons at least to penetrate the smart set of a provincial town. A little golf on Sunday morning, a little tennis on Sunday afternoon, a little bridge on Sunday evening—and there you are. It is to paganism, rather than to Anglicanism, that intelligent ex-Dissenters

may be expected in the future to turn for social salvation. This also is not unknown in Cambridge.

I should apologize for the length and tedium of this part of my paper if I did not feel that it may one day be of practical value to someone. If my simple words have smoothed the rough way for one future ex-Dissenter, and have warned him of the pitfalls in his path, I shall have had a reward greater perhaps than even I deserve.

We must now devote a few words to ministerial ex-Dissenters. These need not detain us long. Most become Anglicans, but a few become Romans. Of the latter many are Methodists, for a reason which I have not yet been able properly to elucidate. There is, of course, no sort of difficulty in passing from one kind of Dissent to another: from Protestant Dissent to Papal Dissent is an easier transition than from Protestant Dissent to Anglicanism, for Papal Dissent has not these subtle elusive qualities which make Anglicanism so hard for a new-comer to capture. It is a cruder, coarser business. Papal Dissent, like Christian Science or Pastor Russellism or Pyramid Measurement or any other exotic coterie, requires only determination and enthusiasm and you can bring it off perfectly.

The Dissenting ministers who go into Anglicanism may be divided into two classes: those who deserve our pity and those who deserve our contempt. The first, I believe, for the honour of our ministry, is infinitely the larger: it is the Stickit Minister class: men who cannot get on in the ministry; they may never have had the intellect to undertake a preaching ministry—they may have been square pegs in round holes for 20 years—they cannot get a call—their people are tired out—their congregations decline—their income is so small that it could only be tolerable in moments of spiritual exaltation, now alas rare! There is a door ajar. Anglicanism can give them at least on an average twice their present income and escape from an impossible position. It is interesting to note how few of them, however, achieve more than comfort in Anglicanism. Really distinguished posts they rarely get—distinguished posts are reserved, it is thought, for ex-members of the Kirk of Scotland. I suspect that Anglicans know well enough that, like laymen, these ministers are ex-Dissenters only, not the genuine goods of Anglicanism.

The other type of ministerial ex-Dissenter is a far less pleasant person. He belongs to that class of persons who are in revolt against all that has made them, whose one active principle is disloyalty to their own past and their own setting; who have an irresistible impulse to foul their own nest, a sort of ecclesiastical Oedipus-complex. These men usually become Anglo-Catholics of the more squalid and ignorant type: very anxious to have Latin

words written over their altars, but not at all careful of the grammar of them; in love with everything medieval but entirely ignorant of what is medieval.

What we have seen and heard
With confidence we tell.

Of such men I can only say that one of the genuine disadvantages of closer co-operation with Anglicanism will be that, on mere decency, we shall have to warn the bishops against these men instead of commending them to their attention. It is a painful subject. Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter.

They brought nothing into the Church; and it is certain that they can take nothing out of it.
The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away
Blessed be the Name of the Lord.

We pass now to a better type of ex-Dissenter; not mere climbers, but persons with some apprehension of our most holy faith, yet deficient in any sense of churchmanship. Here is one—a contemporary of my own—who stands for many, if you make the necessary adjustment of details and dates. What is his name? M or N: once a member of this Society, brought up in an average, rather poor, north country Nonconformist home. He had genuine attachment to his home chapel, knew indeed little of organized religion beyond it. He had an equally genuine hold on the faith. Nonconformity, as it was presented to and embraced by him, was a sturdy, severe, somewhat crude affair, morally bracing, but aesthetically weak, and intellectually nondescript. In theology he took no interest. His churchmanship was practical, and in so far as Nonconformity influenced his thought it turned his thought into a negative *anti*-direction. In an agreeable way he was an example of the dissidence of Dissent. We Dissenters were distinguished from Anglicans in his mind chiefly by the things we did not do. We had cut out a lot of the nonsense of traditional Christianity: no creeds, no priesthood, no mumbo-jumbo ritual. Religion was an affair of morals, not beauty. Straight living and an abandonment of anything questionable: "If meat cause my brother to offend, I will not eat meat. Touch not, taste not, handle not".

M or N was a teetotaller, a non-smoker, little given to the theatre, austere about gambling, opposed to blood sports, a radical tending to Labour in politics, with a feeling of revulsion that was partly shyness and partly genuine disapproval of men of that other type: the public schoolboy with his totally different background and code of conduct, who indulged more or less mildly in all that M or N banned, and whose religion might be adequately described by saying that Anglicanism was the sort of Church he stayed away from. In 1914 came the war. To his general *anti* attitude M or N

naturally added pacifism. He had an unpleasant time doing menial jobs behind the lines as a C.O., but he came through, and, in the scarcity of masters in 1919, got a good job in a public school with Army connections. He lived far away from the North. He married a daughter of his new land; an Anglican from just that class of people whom he had detested. He went, of course, to School chapel, though still (he told himself) a Dissenter, with no real use for that sort of thing. But he found that many of his original notions were quite wrong. Priests were less black than they were painted. Creeds seemed to mean little. Ritual was only decency, not mumbo-jumbo; and there was something in Anglicanism which made his memory of north country chapels very bleak. Anyhow he told himself there was little difference between the sects. He became a father; he had the prospect of becoming a house master. His son was baptized by an Anglican; to do the right thing by his House—oddly enough the Army House! he conformed more and more. His old *anti* attitude melted in the slightly snobbish sunshine of his wife's society. He saw how crude and narrow he had been. The old English society which he had despised and feared was in fact mellowed and richer than that in which he was bred. Final scene: M or N is headmaster of a third-rate school, aping the public school, with great emphasis on an episcopal founder and the O.T.C., and a shoddy little Chapel in the garage style of ecclesiastical architecture. M or N will spend the rest of his life trying to produce exactly what he used to denounce; he is become a genial, broad-minded man, who has lost his youthful principles almost as completely as his northern accent. His wife indeed thinks she has made him a full member of nice society; but she is mistaken; for, let *me* speak to him and see his colour mount! He blushes to hear the chapel named.

Here is another ex-Dissenter, of a non-Anglican type. XYZ, like M or N, was brought up in a very average Congregational Church. He imbibed freely its tradition of liberty and revelled in the share that Congregationalists have had in shaping the political fortunes of the country. Anxious to see them take their full part in doing this in the present age, he was convinced that the modern political equivalent of political Puritanism of the 17th century and Nonconformist Liberalism of the 19th was the Labour party of to-day. So far, well. But because his enthusiasm grew; and because not all Congregationalists were Labour men; and because the support of political movements which he felt necessary for the Kingdom of God were not the main, sometimes indeed not any concern of the Church, he grew disappointed. The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Men: that was Christianity; and the part one could do something about was the second. In enthusi-

stic exploration of what could be done on that line the Fatherhood of God was almost forgotten. The Church finally came to seem unnecessary, worse than unnecessary, for it drew off the interest and effort of people who might be better employed. And now when XYZ revisits the old town, he will look in, in a superior way, at the Chapel—he is a very well-to-do eye specialist who gives his spare time to Socialism, or he is a working journalist. But he will tell you that he has found a more direct way of carrying out Christ's instructions, as have all his comrades, though they give Christ and His instructions not an average of five minutes' thought a month. The proper issue of English Nonconformity he asserts is the Labour Party. To fight theological and ecclesiastical battles in the past was necessary to liberate the human spirit from theological and ecclesiastical tyranny; but the soul of English Dissent was never there. The modern chapel is a shell from which the living creature has departed. Where is the living creature? Well, here in XYZ.

My third example is BF. His story is set before you about once in every three months in a novel which is praised as an epoch-making and original affair, breaking new ground, and (I quote the blurb on the wrapper) shewing "perhaps for the first time"—perhaps for the 101st—life as it is lived in little-known provincial circles. You *must* know BF. In Book I we have the talented if slightly priggish child, reared in an atmosphere of unlovely bourgeois piety of the taboo kind. He attends the ugly chapel with the plomineering, platitudinous minister. He attends the Sunday School with the feeble, kindly superintendent whose tendencies to amorous adventures with female organists first raise in BF's mind certain universe-shattering questionings. Book II is called *Emancipation*: it is mainly cribbed from Hardy's *Jude* and his experiences with that insufferable little wench who learned the hollowness of Christianity from a London B.Sc. Anyhow in Book II called *Emancipation* BF's eyes are opened. He sees Art, Life, Beauty, Truth and the like. Further he sees their mystic Oneness and knows that for the rest of time the true name of the Chapel is not SALEM but ICHABOD. In plain English our young BF comes to move in a society where there is more general culture than there was in his home circle, and the first thing that he sacrifices to the new culture is the old cult. Book III may be either of two variants. BF probably becomes a new pagan, and lives in a garden village with persons of indiscriminate matrimonial habits not completely unlike those of the deplorable S.S. Superintendent; but there is a sporting chance that BF may become a Papist or an Anglo-Catholic or a beachcomber in the South Seas. That depends mainly on the publisher. Mark this: whatever happens, and whoever publishes

the book, he will blush to hear the Chapel named—which, from my disgustingly Dissenting point of view, is the main thing.

There is a slightly different formula for this story of BF in which the same theme, the conflict of culture and Dissent, works itself out in a slightly higher social circle. The hero in this version is the son, not of a greengrocer, but of a banker or of the proprietor of some enormous drapery store. He goes to a Free Church public school. He too suffers from Emancipation in Book II, in Italy or Russia instead of Sunday School, and he revolts against the local chapel and the appalling sermons by the bourgeois minister. But at about this point the story becomes very like the story of M or N the conscientious objector a few pages back; and I need not go into it again.

We have arrived, you see, at long last, at the second part of my title: ecclesiastical pathology. For it is obvious that the one thing common to all my later examples is that they suffer either from a complete lack of churchmanship or a complete misunderstanding of what Dissenting churchmanship stands for, of what our Churches take for their main business. They never had, as an effective part of their working thought and life, a positive conception of Dissenting churchmanship or they would not have lapsed from Dissent for what are, on examination, purely irrelevant considerations for a churchman.

Think of M or N the conscientious objector schoolmaster with the Army House and the O.T.C. What was his notion of Dissenting churchmanship? What made it different from the Anglican notion? Well, Christianity (he would say) is common to both; the essence of Nonconformity was for him a certain negativeness. This *anti*-feeling, as long as he was on the whole a rebellious member of society, with a slight inferiority complex, and a large desire to upset existing institutions, e.g., war, fitted his bill well enough. But a saner and wider experience of life, a growing bank-balance and a growing girth measurement, taught him the inadequacy of an *anti*-philosophy. His wife helped him to cast off the inferiority complex. He became a comfortable citizen of the world as it is, with no desire to abolish Army Houses and O.T.C. schools. Having then abandoned his *anti*-attitude to life in general, he abandons Dissent, for that—the *anti*-attitude—was the essence of his Dissent. At the finish he is a poor creature, for he has that most wretched feeling of despising his own roots and of being on analysis what he would not seem to be.

Think next of XYZ, the Labour politician. For him the churchmanship of Dissent was but the comradeship of progressive partisans. As he advanced, *progress* and *comrade* became in his mouth increasingly technical terms; and poor old Dissent did not mouth

the shibboleth quite so perfectly as some other groups. What else and what more Dissent stood for *he* never knew; hence it seemed to him merely to do less well what others could do better—a true charge, but an irrelevant charge. He carries over from Dissent only a rather priggish desire to do good without the ecclesiastical sense of worship which “disinfects” personal service and frees it from such egoism.

BF, with his “emancipation”, is of course the meanest of the bunch. But his trouble too is an inadequate conception of what churchmanship is. It is inevitable, and it is proper enough, that a boy of certain intellectual prowess should out-strip his less fortunate neighbours in some things; but BF’s criticism of the Church rests on the assumption that the Church is a sort of Young Men’s Mutual Improvement Society or a Worker’s Educational Association or an aspect of the Extra Mural Board or an outpost of Bloomsbury Highbrowism; and that it is therefore to be judged according to its capacity to purvey culture to BF’s. That the Church brings down the heavenly manna to places where there is culture and to places where there is no culture, and that this is its main function—all this is hidden from BF’s enlightened eyes.

My paper has no moral; and even without one it is too long. We have observed people of several sorts leaving Dissent—we have observed them perhaps sometimes with less regret than we ought to feel. We have noticed that none of them has properly understood what it is that he is leaving. One thinks it is an *anti*-movement; one that it is a political movement; one that it is a cultural movement; and on all three counts it fails to satisfy. For the sake of argument—agreed. What then? Dissent is a Church: that is to say it is concerned with the Word and the Sacraments, the continuation of the Incarnation of the Word. If we stay in Dissent, if we leave Dissent, we ought to stay in it or leave it, because we judge its qualities as a Church superior or inferior to those of Rome or Canterbury. What those qualities are *not* it was my business to hint at tonight. What they *are* Dr. Micklem will tell you when next you meet.

REVIEWS

The massive learning and the indefatigable industry of Father L. S. Thornton are well known. His new book **Revelation and the Modern World** (Dacre Press: A. & C. Black, 30s.), being the first part of a treatise of **The Form of the Servant**, is very readable, and is concerned with the central issue of theology. The merit of the book lies in its insistence that science and theology must interact, and in its spacious awareness of the context of modern life and thought. In particular Fr. Thornton is insistent upon the utmost use of modern researches into the habits of thought of the Biblical writers, and confesses his special indebtedness to H. Wheeler Robinson, J. Pedersen, S. H. Hooke and George Foot Moore. A distinctive feature of the book is its exposition of the thought of S. Irenaeus, namely that Revelation has three forms of unity interpenetrating in a single whole—scripture, Israel (old and new) and the created order.

This is an important book. And it advances the discussion of its theme by its insistence (from within the security of an *a priori* dogmatic framework) that we must resolutely set the Bible in the thought-forms of the ancient world—even to the point of typological exegesis which seems at first sight exceedingly bizarre. Without intending it, Fr. Thornton may have helped to bring British theologians nearer a serious discussion of Professor Bultmann's theme: that the New Testament Gospel should be freed from its mythology.

The weakness of the book lies in its central perspective. Fr. Thornton takes the view that the Liberal Experiment—which assumed that the form of revelation is irrelevant to its content—has failed and that the only alternative is to assume that the content of revelation is identical with its form. "If the onion cannot be peeled we must accept it as it is". "It is not enough to say that the word of God is contained *in* Scripture. We must insist once more that Scripture is the word of God". Fr. Thornton says rightly that his position is not "fundamentalist" for he allows the most rigorous scientific elucidation of the meaning of the form of the revelation. True, but it is traditionalist, in the sense that "the authors of 'The Priestly Code' were as indispensable as St. Paul and St. John"—that every part of the Bible is equally indispensable.

What Fr. Thornton holds is that scientific criticism and traditional theology are mutually dependent and reinforce one another. The traditional attitude "accepts the verdicts and interpretations offered by the inspired writers as theologically true and reliable within the total proportions of the biblical revelation". The critical attitude "seeks to go behind the account rendered by scripture itself, and to reconstruct so far as possible the original course of events". This amounts to saying that while criticism considerably alters our understanding of the events and interpretations given in the Bible, it leaves them all standing, because we know by faith that they are all part of the form of revelation as it has come to us. There is limitation and contrast there; but we could not at any point say that there is distortion, for that would imply judgement. Judgement, Fr. Thornton thinks, is incompatible with the fundamental religious attitude of humility towards revelation, and implies a point of vantage outstripping prophet and apostle.

It is not easy to see why Fr. Thornton has not given consideration to the position that the Revelation is neither separable from nor identical with its historic form. If this is Liberalism, then the reviewer is an unrepentant Liberal. The detailed exposition of the meaning of the Bible is to be given

the second volume, but enough has been said to make clear the limitations of the author's approach.

H. CUNLIFFE-JONES.

Theological Word Book of the Bible. Edited by ALAN RICHARDSON. S.C.M. 25s.

One of the most significant trends in modern theological thinking is the recent return to Biblical theology and to a re-examination of the distinctive meaning of the key-words of both Old and New Testaments, each considered in necessary relation to the other. Many books now coming from the press reflect a new estimate of Biblical words and thoughts and show that this study must be set in the forefront of our understanding of the written sources of our faith. The *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, edited by Gerhard Kittel, has already exercised a profound influence on much of the work which has been done in this field, and is becoming available to English readers in those articles from *TWNT* which have been translated and published by J. R. Coates. Now comes this wholly admirable *Theological Word Book* for ordinary readers, edited by Canon Richardson of Durham, with thirty other contributors.

The preface by the editor, which calls attention to the "remarkable unanimity" of these contributors, although "there was no attempt to ensure uniformity of outlook", also clearly enunciates the aims of the book and says that "while accepting *ex animo* the methods of scientific criticism, the common point of view is that the key to the Biblical revelation is Christ, who is the proper subject both of the Old and the New Testaments". The articles vary considerably in length, according to the importance of the subject; many of them contain valuable and up-to-date bibliographies, either embedded in the text or given as an end-piece; the cross-referencing is good, as is the method of grouping together related words. The longer articles are full-length essays, among which that on "The Spirit" by Professor George Johnston is outstanding. Free Churchmen, who are well represented among the contributors, will naturally look for what the *Word Book* has to say, for example, about Baptism, the Church, the Ministry, the Lord's Supper (given under the heading, "Thank"), and Grace; their expectations will not be disappointed. Congregationalists will value the contributions of E. C. Blackman (in many short articles), Professor John Marsh (in an important article on "Time"), and W. A. Whitehouse (mainly on the Mosaic dispensation). It is impossible to overestimate the value of this book as a companion to Bible studies; it should be in regular use on the study table and by the bed-side in every manse.

W. GORDON ROBINSON.

Baptism in the New Testament. By O. CULLMANN.

The Old Testament against its Environment. By G. E. WRIGHT.

The New Testament against its Environment. By F. V. FILSON.

S.C.M. Press. 6s. each.

These three attractively produced volumes are the first in a new series of *Studies in Biblical Theology*, "designed to provide clergy and laymen with the best work in Biblical scholarship both in this country and abroad".

Baptism in the New Testament is a translation from the German by the Rev. J. K. S. Reid of Professor Cullmann's reply to Karl Barth's polemic against infant baptism. Dr. Cullmann rightly associates baptism with the death and resurrection of Christ, who Himself spoke of His death as a baptism (*Mark* 10³⁸, *Luke* 12⁵⁰). Some will feel that this is the real basis of the association, and not, as Dr. Cullmann argues, the voice at the baptism of Jesus, which, being from the first of the Servant Songs in Deutero-Isaiah

which says nothing about suffering, could not (besides being too early for such a conception) have pointed to the Cross, in which "Jesus will achieve a general Baptism" (p. 19). This general baptism is then stated to be for all men independent of their faith. Others would prefer to say that on Golgotha salvation was offered for all men who are willing to accept it in faith.

Baptism as acceptance into the Church "is a divine act independent of man's action" (p. 39). The declaration of faith *before* baptism demanded only of adult converts from Judaism or heathenism was not a constitutive element of baptism; what is decisive and demanded from all is faith *afterwards*. Thus there is only the one difference, and that not fundamental between infant and adult baptism.

The upshot is that, while there is no explicit evidence of infant baptism in the New Testament, it is congruous with its doctrine of baptism. With this the reviewer would agree. But Dr. Cullmann views baptism as incorporation into the Church in too impersonal a way, and with over-emphasis on the corporate aspect. This, it seems, is due to the drawing of a too close analogy between the salvation in Christ offered to all men and baptism as another divine gift.

Despite these possible differences of opinion this book, as we should expect, deserves careful attention, and sets a high standard in the series of which it is the first. The reader will find here the same closely reasoned argument and stimulating independence and originality of thought which are the outstanding features of all that Dr. Cullmann writes.

The other two books are, as their titles indicate, companion volumes. They are expansions of lectures on "The Bible Against Its Environment" delivered jointly at Oberlin College by the authors, who are colleagues at McCormick Theological Seminary. Alternative titles might well have been "The Distinctiveness of Old Testament Religion" and "The Distinctiveness of New Testament Religion", for these books attempt to show the uniqueness of Biblical teaching in the same three categories of the nature of God, the meaning of life and history, and the worship and service of God.

Professor Wright adopts the position that "the faith of Israel even in its earliest and basic forms is so utterly different from that of the contemporary polytheisms that one simply cannot explain it fully by evolutionary or environmental categories" (p. 7). "Israel's knowledge of her election by God must be traced to a theological reflection on the meaning of the Exodus from Egypt" (pp. 13 f.). Yahweh differs radically from pagan polytheism in being not a god of nature, but the God who is above nature which He uses as a tool in accomplishing His purposes in history. The life and history of Israel were set within the framework of election and the covenant, which constitute an unparalleled revelation of the purpose of the one God. The same radical differences between Israel and its cultural and religious environment appear in the realm of worship. In pure Israelite religion there is no effort, as in the nature religions, to maintain by magic, sacrifices, and other means the harmony of the social and natural worlds. The festivals rather are historical commemorations.

Professor Wright, of course, recognizes the points of contact between Biblical religion and contemporary faiths. But the achievement of Israel in "a sea of polytheism" is the theological basis of the Christian faith.

Professor Filson states the contrast between the New Testament and its environment in terms of "The Gospel of Christ the Risen Lord" (the subtitle of his book). That God is the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is "a fresh, climactic revelation". Christianity went beyond Judaism, and owes nothing to Hellenism that is primary and fundamental. The New Testament is indeed akin to Judaism in regarding the particular history of His people as the medium of the revelation of God, but differs from

lenistic thought which has no eschatological and purposeful view of a
al in history. In worship and daily life the Church is living at the
inning of the new age. "Pentecost opened the final age".

We are grateful for these three studies, and look forward to future
ubers in the series.

A. J. B. HIGGINS.

Oecumenical Documents of the Faith. By T. HERBERT BINDLEY.
Fourth edition, revised by F. W. Green. Methuen. 21s.

Bindley's *Oecumenical Documents* has ranked as a theological text-book
over fifty years. To undertake the revision of such a work is a grave
responsibility; but Canon Green has undertaken the task with insight and
roughness, and the result is a work of first-rate importance. We shall
discuss this book as though it were a new production; first, owing to the
importance of its subject matter; second, because so much both of
matter and approach is new. Nor is it easy to tell how much of the revision
Canon Green's personal responsibility and how much is derived from
the copious notes which Dr. Bindley had left with a view to such a revision.
We may justly hold Canon Green as fully responsible for everything:
presumably where he has not altered he has approved.

The object of the book is to set out, with appropriate introduction and
comment, those great documents of the fourth and fifth centuries which
are accepted by the ancient Catholic and Orthodox Church as setting
forth correct doctrine on the interpretation of the Person of Christ and of
the Trinity. Let no one underestimate the importance of those documents.
They represent the travail of many acute minds, and the reasons for many
of their conclusions lie deeper both religiously and philosophically than is
always realized. The documents are the Creed of Nicaea, the Three Epistles
of Cyril, the Tome of Leo, and the Chalcedonian Definition. They date
between 325 and 451 A.D.

Canon Green starts with a general introduction, showing how creeds and
definitions arose and developed. He then deals with the documents in
turn, with historical and theological introductions, text and notes. The
original texts are given, but translations are provided in an appendix. It
must be said in general that the work is excellently done. The scholarship
is exact, references are precise, and the historical perspective is clear.

The very excellence of the work, however, prompts a few criticisms, if
only in the hope that they may be noted in any future edition: The note
(p. 18 to 22) on *ousia* and *hypostasis* is useful, but fails to leave a clear
working hypothesis. It needs to be added that *ousia* and *hypostasis*, start-
ing as practically synonymous, begin to take on a differentiation from the
needs of the Trinitarian problem. *Ousia* became more applicable to the
underlying ground of an existence, that without which it could not be;
whereas *hypostasis* became more applicable to the existence as a distinct
individual. In all cases but the Trinity the distinction is only in point of
view. In the Trinity the ineffable distinction is indicated by postulating
the one *ousia*, subsisting within Itself and relating Itself externally in three
hypostases. Nor am I quite satisfied with the treatment of *homoousion* and
eternal generation. However, these are extraordinarily difficult matters.
By contrast, let me commend the excellent note on the resurrection of the
dead (p. 76). I see no reason why Cyril should have his Twelve Anathemas
described as Twelve Articles. He put them forth as anathemas; let him have
them described as anathemas. Incidentally, every one of them is right.
But who was ever so gracelessly right as Cyril? The translations are good,
but in places a little free. The titles should also correspond, and there
should be a translation of the document given on pages 205-206.

Such a work of minutiae is bound to be open to detailed comments. This must not cloud our eyes to its general excellence. Let me rather commend its mighty subject matter. It is time Free Churchmen realized that the modern approach enables them to take without anxiety the treasures that these ancient documents offer. It is no longer a case of accepting as sacrosanct or rejecting altogether. The treasure is in earthen vessels, but it is treasure indeed. What a fine piece of work Leo did on 13th June, 449. Here is right feeling, an instinct for sound doctrine, and a fine sagacity. Or the Chalcedonian Definition. The "bankruptcy of Greek theology" indeed! Rather, an enshrinement of the conditions for the solution of the greatest of all problems, and a confident pointing in the only right direction. We have implied too long that it doesn't matter what a man thinks. Sandau was prophetically and tragically right when he said that a reduced Christology leads to a reduced Christianity. Some of us believe in "one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, . . . who for us men and for our salvation came down and was made flesh". This book will help us to see how such a faith was derived from the Scriptures and set into an exacting logic and philosophy.

The Burned-Over District. By WHITNEY R. CROSS. Cornell University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege). 40s.

Many of us have vague ideas concerning the "fancy religions" that have arisen from time to time in America, and we may have read isolated accounts of some of them. This work renders a great service to the student of religion and sociology by dealing with a great group of these religious vagaries, and showing how they arose and how they were related to the general pattern of life. It may not be generally known that so many of these religious experiments were worked out during the period 1800 to 1850, and that so many of them originated in the western part of New York State. This book deals with that period and that area, the area being that to which the epithet "Burned-Over District" has been applied. "Burned-Over" is applied in a metaphorical sense, and means "burned over" with religious fanaticism.

The book is well written and thoroughly documented, and relates its theme to economic and social conditions. It gives a clear view of the interrelationships between various sects and movements, and lifts the whole matter from the realm of anecdote about curious happenings to a study of a complex pattern of human behaviour under unusual stresses. Mr. Cross has carried out an objective piece of work, which is of great value in itself and as opening a window on peculiar manifestations of religious enthusiasm in general. We obtain a due perspective on movements as diverse as Adventism, Spiritualism, Oneida, Ultraism, Mormonism, Christian Science, Antimasonry, Perfectionism, and Mesmerism, besides variations in the more usual branches of the Christian Church.

The English reader needs to be reminded that New York is the name of a great city, and also of a State 300 miles long and 200 miles wide. In most cases in this book New York means the State, and Western New York means the western half of the State. It may also be noted that in quoting old documents the plus sign is used as a symbol for "and".

Saint Augustine and the Donatist Controversy. By G. G. WILLIS. S.P.C.K. 15s.

This work provides a careful and thoroughly documented study of the way in which a great saint and ecclesiastic dealt with a grave schism and its consequences. Purely as a historical study, this book is in the front rank. The many-sided abilities of St. Augustine are made manifest, and his

etration both as a theologian and an ecclesiastic is evidenced. Mr. Willis rightly demonstrates that Augustine's concern was primarily for the peace and good order of the Church, and that theological issues were always secondary to pastoral concern. It may be that this is the acid test of the theology, and we may do well to note it.

Donatism arose as a Puritan schism in North Africa following the Vandalian persecution, and during the fourth century provided serious rivalry to the Catholic Church in that part of the Roman Empire. For at least thirty years of his life Augustine, first as priest and then as Bishop of Hippo, was concerned with this schism and the problems arising from it. It ought to attract urgent attention many questions: Is there ever a justification for schism? What are the marks of the true Church? What constitutes a valid ministry? What constitutes validity in the sacraments? What should be the relation between Church and State? To what extent is civil action justifiable against schism and heresy? Augustine dealt with these problems with spiritual sensitivity and insight, and it is most profitable to follow the story of his dealings. Although Mr. Willis certainly regards the words "schism" and "heresy" with more abhorrence than does the average Free Churchman, his treatment of the whole matter is scrupulously objective, and although his own convictions are fairly obvious, he cannot be accused of partiality. In fact, the book is to be commended to two classes of reader: it is a most valuable monograph on an important phase of the life of St. Augustine and his dealings with a most significant schism, and should therefore be studied by every serious student of Church history; it is also a work implicitly demanding consideration of some of the great issues before divided Christendom today. Mr. Willis is careful not to raise those issues; but his book should help us all to examine ourselves on them. Is the Church in England justified in remaining in schism from Rome, the Free Churches from the Church of England and from one another? Rome may regard the issue of schism too gravely; others may equally regard it too lightly. This book will make us think deeply on this and cognate issues.

A. R. VINE.

Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion, with special reference to the XVII and XVIII Centuries. By R. A. KNOX. O.U.P. 30s.

The clue to this most interesting book (for it requires a clue) would seem to be found at the very beginning and at the very end. Fr. Knox writes as an "honorary Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford", yet he feels that this excursion into historical scholarship must start off with the imprimatur of the Roman authorities. We gather from the last paragraph that the reason for this would appear to be that this is a tract for Catholics and he wants them to read it. It is a warning to Catholics of the dangers of waiting in wait for any institution which becomes too powerful and too wealthy, for when this happens there is apt to be a revolt in the name of pure religion against the worldliness of the institution. This he illustrates from history and it is a salutary warning to others besides Catholics. The totalitarian virus is to some extent present in all of us.

The term "enthusiasm" needs a little explaining. Fr. Knox applies it here to the Quakers, the Jansenists, the Quietists, Molinos, Mme. Guyon, the Moravians and the Wesleyans, and he has a sort of appendix on the Quakers, the Irvingites and the "perfectionists". (There is nothing about the Salvation Army or the Anglican Evangelicals). The word "enthusiasm" is thus a blanket term covering very many different types of Christian experience, and it may well be asked whether there is no "enthusiasm" even of the Shaker type within the Catholic Church itself. The scenes, for instance, at Lourdes have not always made for edification.

In his first seven chapters Fr. Knox equates "enthusiasm" with heresy and instances the Montanists, the Donatists, the Albigenses and others, but his endeavour to find a heretical ancestry for the later movements may be really intended for home consumption, and not for the general reader. Coming as he does from a strong Anglican Evangelical background, Fr. Knox must know as well as he knows anything that the provenance of movements of personal experience (for that is the real name of the thing he is talking about) is not to be found in any historical continuity, actual or assumed, but in a sense of immediacy. Furthermore, movements of the spirit are not wholly to be divorced from their contemporary society. For example, the Thirty Years' War and its consequences are a far more obvious "source" of Pietism than any assumed hangover from earlier movements of this kind. It is, however, a weakness of Fr. Knox in this book as well as in his juvenile autobiography, *A Spiritual Aeneid*, that he is curiously insensitive to the world of men and affairs.

Nevertheless this is an excellent book. There is perhaps an overweight of Lytton Strachey's type of sardonic humour and far too much uncritical reliance on secondary authorities, but it is written with real gusto and the author, like John Wesley (p. 515), is all the time watching himself doing it! He gives us admirably appreciative and discriminating sketches of George Fox and John Wesley. In the true Knox fashion the book bristles with unforgettable epigrams, although at times we could wish that he would not like so many celibate Catholic writers, get himself cluttered up with metaphors about birth! We are told, for instance, that there were two nations in the womb of Anabaptism, and later on that Methodism also had two nations within its womb. The Methodist movement was "continually in need of wet nursing" by John Wesley, and "Wesley seems to think of Whitefield as a child of his own, fatally put out to nurse with Lady Huntingdon." This is all very amusing and very true but it is apt to hide the author's real seriousness. And this is a book not only to enjoy but also to take seriously.

A. VICTOR MURRAY.

The Reformation in England. Volume I: "The King's Proceedings".

By PHILIP HUGHES. Hollis & Carter. 42s.

"The Reformation in England was one of several synchronous revolutions": "the Reformation was itself a religious, and indeed a theological revolution". One of the many virtues of this study is the balance with which each of these truths is kept steadily before the reader. Fr. Hughes presents the scene with a fine fulness and comprehensiveness, yet never loses himself in the politics and economics; and he writes as a religious man who cares deeply about his subject.

No Protestant could be more damning over the abuses and scandals which, in part, occasioned the Reformation.

The Reformation, as a doctrine of salvation, and this is its essence, is a reaction against decadence. (p. 122).

In all these years no creative mind had arisen to devise a means whereby all candidates for Holy Orders should be systematically trained to live a regular life and be systematically instructed in the elements of their professional knowledge. (p. 86).

Wycliffe's text was corrupt—so be it. The policy of the bishops went no further than to forbid and suppress this erroneous version. No bishop ever moved to produce a new Catholic version, nor to have the old version amended and printed. (pp. 100 f.).

Wolsey had, in fact, been always a great churchman, in the worst sense of the word—in the sense that the church system was for him the supreme vested interest. (p. 113).

[Wolsey's fall] brought from Wolsey's master, the pope, not a single syllable of protest or comment. (p. 227).

The quality of the monasticism surely stands condemned . . . by the fact of the religious voting away so generally the whole institution to whose service, by the most solemn obligations, they were all of them severally vowed for life. (p. 321).

Only because he is a Roman Catholic, Fr. Hughes is sorry instead of nothing. For him, the Reformers are still wrong though "spiritually sick, rather than vicious, unfortunates rather than wicked men."

In the last 280 pages of his book Fr. Hughes describes in detail the events of the eleven years from Campeggio's fateful adjournment of Catharine's trial in 1529 to "the last violent act in the revolutionary drama," the execution of Thomas Cromwell, in 1540. Here, too, it is a dark picture. Nothing perhaps, conveys "the reign of terror" so vividly as the punishment of the women who, two months after the executions, Antigone-like dared to take down from the gibbets and bury the bodies of the men strung up, even in trees in their own gardens, after the fiasco of the Pilgrimage of Grace. For the Catholic martyrs Fr. Hughes has a very proper respect: St. John Fisher, whose *Earliest Life* he has edited, is in a sense the hero of the piece. With the Protestant martyrs, naturally, he has less sympathy. He makes a valiant attempt to appreciate Tyndale's "fierce invincible enthusiasm" and to see "the solution he proposed" as "a great liberating doctrine, an emancipation." But one consequence of his concentrating upon "the king's proceedings" is that he sees the English Reformation as almost secular in comparison with Continental Protestantism, which did retain "some notion of the supremacy of revelation, of truth, of private judgment, of conscience". These things were not lacking in England, either, really.

The book contains several statistical tables and seven maps showing, e.g., the distribution of the monasteries before and after the Suppression Act of 1536. Of the 31 fine plates, some show churches built in the beginning of the 16th century, others are facsimiles of letters by Wolsey, More, Fisher, Cranmer and others. The transcripts of these are not always correct in every particular. The bibliography is largely conventional, and there are a few surprising omissions, e.g., J. A. Muller's edition of Gardiner's *Letters*. But Fr. Hughes has read enough to permit him to correct A. F. Pollard more than once; and he has reflected sufficiently to write freshly. For Free Churchmen his second volume, which is to cover the much longer period from 1540 to 1605, should be even more interesting.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

The Philosophical Predicament. By WINSTON H. F. BARNES. A. and C. Black. 10s. 6d.

Religion as Experience, Belief, Action. By SIR FREDERICK BARTLETT. O.U.P. 2s. 6d.

These two books may fitly be taken together for comparison. If one is right in its contention, the other is wrong.

W. H. F. Barnes is Professor of Philosophy in the University of Durham. He has found that many people who are interested in philosophy are puzzled on hearing that outstanding professional philosophers today show no concern for the things that seem to them of most moment, viz., the existence of God, the moral nature and destiny of man. For example, Professor Moore asks, "What do we mean when we say, This is a good big inkstand?" Professor Broad deals with points, patches of colour and physical objects. Earl Russell regards morality and politics as outside philosophy proper.

The whole movement is anti-metaphysical. It makes use of two powerful instruments of reasoning to attain its end. The first is analysis, which begins

as a transformation of the statements of common sense in the name of logic, but ends with a criticism of their material content, either adding entities by way of explanation, such as atoms and molecules, or else reducing everything to *sensa* and their relations. It is in doing the latter that analysis brings in to aid it the second philosophical instrument, the principle of verification, which asserts that only that has meaning which can successfully predict a future sense-experience.

Professor Barnes is critical of the principle of verification: how can we deal with statements as to the past? And he urges that the expansive and additive work of analysis, if it regards the whole of experience, taking in the ethical, the aesthetic and the religious must inevitably reach a complement of experience which is metaphysical.

Sir Frederick Bartlett, who is Professor of Experimental Psychology in the University of Cambridge, discusses religion, he says, from a purely psychological point of view. Classifying knowledge as deductive, inductive and intuitive, he defines religious statements as based on intuition. How far can they be justified, when brought into contact with other knowledge? So far as they can be reduced to ordinary knowledge in another form, they cease to be religious beliefs. But not all the statements of religion are susceptible of such treatment. Thus their validity can only be proved indirectly by the results in the phenomenal world of the action in which they issue.

It is clear that Sir Frederick Bartlett, though he says he is only speaking psychologically, is really anti-metaphysical. He is a pragmatist, and although Professor Barnes is dealing with philosophers whose sensationalism leaves no place for religion at all, his doctrine also stands in opposition to the pragmatism of Sir Frederick Bartlett, and I think rightly.

ROBERT S. FRANKS.

Jesus and His Parables. By J. A. FINDLAY. Epworth Press. 10s. 6d.

Dr. Findlay has written a stimulating book which enriches our literature on the Parables and throws light on the significance of the whole ministry of Jesus. It is expository and homiletic rather than academic like the authoritative work of B. T. D. Smith or even C. H. Dodd's *Parables of the Kingdom*. The characteristic of a Gospel parable is defined at the outset as the element of surprise, and all the parables, together with much that is not actually called parables, is considered with reference to this. We are not much troubled with the apparatus of Synoptic criticism (Q, M, L, etc.) Dr. Findlay is not afraid to differ from other scholars and his own interpretations are marked by homeliness and real insight. The new treatment of Matthew 25 and Luke 16, 1-10, for example, though not entirely convincing, is full of suggestion. One would not have thought anything fresh could be said about the Prodigal Son, but Dr. Findlay says it. And one is grateful for such summary judgments as: "The Gospels are not about knights in armour, heroes and villains, but about the actual doings and sufferings of real people in a real world" . . . "When will expositors learn that miracles and parables alike are not meant primarily to *teach* us anything, but to show us Someone?" The long final chapter contains points which recent studies of the teaching of Jesus tend to overlook; "the parables tell us what Jesus thought was most divine in human nature". Dr. Findlay insists that Jesus valued human capacity for goodness more highly than do many modern theologians, and it was largely this concern which prompted the book. If we define his position as one of Christian humanism we must make it clear that for him the Jesus who in the parables challenges the orthodoxy and conventionality of every age was no merely human figure.

The Enthronement of Love. By JOHN FERGUSON. Fellowship of Reconciliation. 6s.

This is a fine exposition of Christian pacifism by John Ferguson, a deacon of St. James's Church, Newcastle. Most of us have made up our minds one way or the other about pacifism, but the non-pacifist ought to ask whether he is not convicted of lack of faith by some of the arguments of this book. The opening chapter sets out conveniently and very fairly three official Christian non-pacifist statements since 1945. Mr. Ferguson argues carefully throughout the book that the non-pacifist does not see the full logic of his position; evil is never cast out by its own methods. Exposition of the teaching of Jesus and the early Church takes 26 pages; that is well done, without exaggeration, but it was the easiest part of the author's task. What merits particular attention is the following 53 pages which face the weaknesses of pacifism. To the objection that the pacifist has no valuation at all for the efforts of the honest statesman or U.N.O. to preserve peace, Mr. Ferguson seems to reply that justice is an ambiguous concept and that the mutual relation of States no less than of individuals can be regulated by what Christians know as love. There is no padding, but much effective writing, in this timely book. May it not return unto its author void!

New Testament Manuscript Studies. Edited by M. M. PARVIS and A. P. WIKGREN of the University of Chicago. University of Chicago Press. \$3.

This is a book for specialists. It signalizes the contribution of American scholars to Textual Criticism and particularly that of E. J. Goodspeed, for whom it is in some sense a *Festschrift*. It arose out of consultations at Chicago in October, 1948, concerning a new critical apparatus for the New Testament text. Since then British collaboration has been accepted and there is now an American Board of 18 working with a British Committee of 11 scholars on this project, and hoping to publish first the Gospel of Luke. The need is seen as not so much to produce a new text as a revised critical apparatus which takes account of recent discoveries and research; in other words, not to revise Westcott and Hort so much as Tischendorf. The insufficiency of von Soden's attempt to replace Tischendorf is once again emphasized, though not without discernment of its merits; and so is that of the Oxford edition by Legg which produced *Mark* in 1935 and *Matthew* in 1940. This volume of 9 essays surveys in masterly fashion the present task and is much concerned with method, e.g., the right principle for the citation of evidence, to which 3 essays are devoted. There are 32 plates of illustration of MSS., including some of those now in American libraries.

E. C. BLACKMAN.

My Later Years. By Albert Einstein. Thames & Hudson. 15s.

It is impossible to review this book, which is a collection of 59 essays and addresses, most of them quite brief and none of them long, by the great physicist, who is here revealed as a great humanist. Of these fifty-nine only eight deal with pure science. The matter of the rest of the book is best indicated by its group headings—Convictions and Beliefs, Public Affairs, Science and Life, Personalities, My People. Here then are the reflections and conclusions of a master mind on these catastrophic days. He is a specialist who believes that only out of individual liberty has come, or can come, the ideas and practices by which men live: a proud and grateful nationalist who believes that the only hope for mankind is a supra-national authority for political and economic government (no one should miss his reply to an admonitory open letter addressed to him by four Russian scientists): a democrat who believes that the source of our troubles is the

gap between the informed and elevated spirits who are the natural leaders and the intellectual and emotional crudities of those they lead. He is conscious of grave danger, but is not without hope. A reviewer is tempted to quote from almost every page. Let one sentence suffice: In a Message for Posterity of 16 lines he speaks of the rich inventive minds of our time and the liberating uses of power they have made available. With these, however, are the failures in economic organization and the fact that "people in different countries kill each other at irregular time intervals. This is due to the fact that the intelligence and character of the masses are incomparably lower than the intelligence and character of the few who produce something valuable for the community." "I trust," he concludes, "that posterity will read these statements with a feeling of proud and justified superiority". This book offers the companionship of one of the great thinkers with whom we are contemporary. It ought always to be within reach.

The Only Way. By Alexander Loveday. Wm. Hodge. 12s. 6d.

This is described in its sub-title as "A Study of Democracy in danger". The author, now Warden of Nuffield College, was formerly Director of the Economic and Financial Department of the League of Nations. "Democracy is not primarily a system of government but a system of ideals and ethical principles whose purpose is to enable the individual to develop as complete and harmonious a personality as his natural endowments permit". These beliefs and principles have been undermined by war and economic depression, and continue to be threatened by the fear of their recurrence. At the same time the agents of the transmission of these ideas, the family, the neighbourhood, the church and the school have all, with the exception of the school, lost vigour, owing partly to events and partly to the growth or urbanised industrialism. What is therefore needed is a revival of faith in democratic ethical principles to withstand the fears and combat the danger and to compensate for the depersonalization involved in the complexity and indirectness of economic organization. The demand is for the courage that is born of faith, and the purpose of this book is to recall and justify the grounds of faith which are no less real than the dangers. This is an important and authoritative study of our present situation, which in too many people's minds is crystallizing out into a despairing choice between two opposing totalitarian systems.

Return From Utopia. By Richard Law. Faber. 12s. 6d.

This "the work of a politician not a philosopher." The events of recent years which have cut at the roots of British power in the world Mr. Law holds to be a disaster not only for Britain but for western civilization as a whole. "No one can say whether we shall find our way safely through the night that is falling around us, but I am sure of this at least—there is no hope for us unless we abandon those dreams of an easy Utopia which for a long time have had so strong a hold upon men and women of goodwill in all parties in the State". But this is not the philosophy of despair. It is a summons to faith "in a society in which man is free to be good because he is free to choose. . . . Come back from Utopia and hope is born again". For man's relationship is not only with society, but with God. He must re-establish that relationship if he is to recover his own place in the world in society. The value of this book is that it is written by an active politician who is familiar with events as they are happening about us and takes his share in the dust and heat of controversy.

J. MILLS PHILLIPS.

SHORTER NOTICES & DESCRIPTIVE LIST

Interview with India, by Miss Margaret Bourke-White (Phoenix House, 16s.) is accurately described by its title. It is first class journalism of the kind made familiar by the best American periodicals. The manners and opinions of some of the important political people in India are described and quick glances are given to the most dramatic aspects of the caste system. The British occupation is dismissed as no more than an oppression which has now passed into history. Incidental, indeed, perhaps accidental, light is thrown on the division in Congress and the emergence of Pakistan, and on the almost overwhelming problems which the two sovereign independent States now inevitably face, and the most obvious consequences of partition are not ignored. The valuable part of the book is the 64 pages of plates which are beautifully reproduced. It is a pity there are not more of them, though the dust and heat even of the great migration and the vast concourse at the funeral of Gandhi do not come through.

The Christian World State, by Arthur Wood (Ind. Press, 7s. 6d.) was awarded a prize in a competition organized by the publishers. It deals with the subject that demands and receives so much attention. In Christian thought the world is one, but our common humanity has not yet found the philosophy, still less the institutions, that express that fundamental unity. Christianity has both declared and provided the essential dynamic for what philosophers and statesmen are seeking. The theologian, the political philosopher and the politician are not rivals but partners. Indeed we know now that social reform and revolution can be disappointing and even dangerous unless they are inspired by concern for the things of others as well as one's own. It is Mr. Wood's thesis that only Christian love can direct our reforming zeal if our last state is not to be worse than our first. He has many helpful things to say in reminding us that not only what we build but how we build is important for us mortal men who will never see the finished structure.

J. MILLS PHILLIPS.

Miss C. V. Wedgwood's *Seventeenth-Century English Literature* (Home University Library, O.U.P. 5s.) is as brilliant as well as a very sound and solid performance, as readable as it is informative. On the minor figures of this most enterprising and experimental period, especially the dramatists, and on such great names as Jonson, Donne, Dryden, Burton and Sir Thomas Browne, Miss Wedgwood's judgments are decided, sometimes unorthodox, always interesting. And she has no sympathy with those who would belittle the genius of Milton. Some readers, however, will question her view that the influence of the Authorized Version on English prose style has been, or indeed can easily be, over-estimated. Having paid tribute earlier to the "Cavalier" and Roman Catholic writers, Miss Wedgwood concludes on Puritanism: "An outlook which was, within the same twenty years, the source of two such different masterpieces as *Paradise Lost* and *The Pilgrim's Progress* is without question among the major forces in the creative art of the world. Its influence on literature in Great Britain has been, and still is, incalculable".

In *The Polished Shaft* (S.P.C.K., 7s. 6d.) Miss W. E. M. Brown studies the works of three eighteenth-century Evangelical authors and traces their influence on those who came after, notably Shelley, Peacock and Jane Austen. The three are James Hervey, who wrote *Meditations and Contemplations* and was parodied by Dr. Johnson; Cowper, "the bard of

Christianity"; and William Gilpin, once famous for his studies of the picturesque. These essays are interesting, if not entirely convincing. To many students of Shelley, for instance, it will seem that parallels between his idealism and that of earlier writers with a definitely Christian aim are rather coincidental than the result of *influence*, direct or indirect.

The lives of most literary men are uneventful. Chekhov's was more than usually so. Apart from his depressing childhood at Taganrog in South Russia, his career as a medical student at Moscow University, his trip to the island of Sakhalin to study convict settlements, his late marriage to an actress and his early death from tuberculosis, the story of his life is the story of his work. In *Chekhov: A Biographical and Critical Study* (Allen & Unwin, 21s.) Mr. Ronald Hingley makes the most of this rather meagre material. He is readable, tolerant and unpretentious, virtues we associate peculiarly with Chekhov himself. Chekhov is probably best known in England as the author of *The Cherry Orchard*. But Mr. Hingley maintains, surely rightly, that the stories are his more important achievement. As a dramatist Chekhov has rivals; as a writer of short stories he stands alone, or with Maupassant. The book contains a classified bibliography, Russian and English, and a most useful chronological list of the 223 stories which have been translated into English.

There is stimulating reading in the *Letters of Herbert Hensley Henson* (S.P.C.K., 15s.), chosen, edited and introduced by his friend, Canon E. F. Braley. Nearly 200 letters are included, in whole or in part, ranging in time from 1898 till the day of the writer's death in September 1947. Bishop Henson's autobiography reveals him as little more than a controversialist. This volume, which expresses decided opinions on a wide variety of topics and personalities, amply fulfils its purpose of supplementing and correcting this impression. Behind the fog of controversy we discern a credible and very human individual. It was a good idea to close with a series of "Hensoniana", brief and supposedly pithy extracts from letters not otherwise included. Unfortunately, too many of these are platitudes unadorned, and the story of the Shah of Persia (p. 232) is a "chestnut". The book contains a caricature, two portraits, and a reproduction of a letter written in 1940.

It is not easy to suggest by quotation the quality of Mr. Frank Kendon's *Jacob and Thomas: Darkness* (C.U.P., 2s. 6d.), which is a dialogue in irregular unrhymed verse between two old men, of whom one when young was the man of "great possessions" who asked Jesus the question "What shall I do to inherit eternal life"? The dialogue takes place in darkness in an Eastern house; its spirit is one of resignation and atonement. The poem is entirely *sui generis*, but its slow movement and sculptural diction are sometimes reminiscent of the later Yeats.

In spite of three careful readings and the help given by the explanatory notes, I confess to being unable to follow the argument of Mr. J. A. Chapman's sonnet sequence, *The End of Time* (Blackwell, 3s 6d.). However, individual passages are impressive, and Mr. Chapman makes it clear that he is on the side of the angels. He writes as a Christian and against war and intellectual arrogance and the doctrines of Messrs. Marx and Sartre.

The fourth volume of Dr. Agnes Mure Mackenzie's admirable *Scottish Pageant* (Oliver & Boyd, 12s. 6d.) covers the years 1707-1802. Like its predecessors, it consists of contemporary passages written either by Scots or about Scotland, or both. The 590 extracts are drawn from relatively little-known sources, and treat of every aspect of Scottish life and character from politics to witch-craft. Of the four volumes this one perhaps contains most to interest the general reader.

The three latest additions to the "World's Classics" series (O.U.P.) are *Poems of Robert Burns*, selected and edited by Mr. Laurence Brander, R. L. Stevenson's *The Wrecker* (both 4s.), and George Meredith's *Beauchamp's Career* (a double volume, 7s.), introduced by Mr. G. M. Young. This novel, Mr. Young maintains, is best read as a political study, with three, if not four, love stories weaving themselves in and out of the central theme, the Southampton election of 1868. The Burns volume is remarkable for the very full glossary at the foot of each page.

P. A. SPALDING.

In the Middle Ages the Augustinian Canons formed "incomparably the most numerous religious order in this country". "Its main characteristic" was "the union of clerical status and a full common life", the latter term denoting renunciation of private property. The most significant feature in its rise is its "intimate connection with the protagonists of the Gregorian Reform"; and in England "the most prominent of the papalist reformers", St. Anselm, was also "the patron *par excellence* of the order". Hitherto it has been "the most neglected religious order of the mediaeval church". It is all the more satisfying that *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (S.P.C.K., 20s.), by the Rev. J. C. Dickinson, has been written with a rare thoroughness and attention to detail. Alike in patient reflection in the ramifications of the subject, in the arrangement of the material, in the documentation and bibliography, and in the provision of cross-references, it is a first-rate piece of work. There are no illustrations besides the frontispiece, but even so the volume is worth far more than 20s. at present rates.

From Puritanism To The Age of Reason (C.U.P., 12s. 6d.) is the somewhat vague title which Dr. G. R. Cragg has thrown over a number of late 17th century studies covering the Cambridge Platonists, the Latitudinarians, the New Science, Locke, Toland, Church and State, and Toleration. The ascendancy of reason, a critical attitude to the authority of dogma, and an increasing moderateness in tone: these are among the developments clearly and effectively traced and treated as characteristic of Anglicanism generally at this period; the Nonjurors stick out rather awkwardly. The book's subtitle, "A Study of Changes in Religious Thought within the Church of England, 1660 to 1700", indicates its limits. They tend also to be its limitations. The time is gone by when Anglican thought can profitably be studied in splendid isolation. Had Dr. Cragg read less onesidedly, he would have found that the changes he describes often run parallel with those in contemporary Nonconformist thought and on occasion actually arise out of the "Puritanism" which he supposes them to be eclipsing. He might also have been saved a few slips such as quoting from a work by Baxter against toleration of Roman Catholics as if it were written by an Anglican against toleration of Nonconformists.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

John Newton. By Bernard Martin. Heinemann, 21s. The reader will lay down this book in amazement. Why was it not written before? John Newton died in 1807. He has had but one biographer, Josiah Bull, whose book appeared in 1868. Yet what life is of wider or more lively interest? Newton merited a biography for his influence on Wilberforce, for his intimate friendship with Cowper and almost in his own right as author and hymnwriter. Anglican and Dissenter alike might have felt a debt of piety to one who greatly served both. Yet he was passed over. Newton had a tough childhood and he grew up foolish and head-strong. He survived an even tougher manhood, and the "African blasphemer" became in time the Evangelical leader. Fascinated we watch his develop-

ment. A bond-slave teaches himself Euclid. The captain of a slave-ship masters the classics. A tide-surveyor refuses to consider his call to the ministry further until he can read Hebrew. So it is we come to Olney, to the devoted and humorous friend of Cowper and to the loving husband and affectionate foster father. Caricatures of the narrow Calvinist, dwelling upon death and judgment, are brushed aside as we meet the advocate of intercommunion with a dislike of controversy who, as an old man, impressed a visitor to his services with enjoyment, encouragement and delight. In this splendid book justice is done to a good man of great character. Mr. Martin is one who loves both books and men, and he gives us a portrait of his subject and of his age. He makes the fullest use of original sources, including some discovered by himself, and he is generous with quotation. The handsome illustrations add to the book, but why is there no picture of Newton?

J. WILDING.

Dr. R. W. Moore, the headmaster of Harrow, has written *The Furtherance of the Gospel* (O.U.P. 6s. 6d., School edition 5s.), which is the second volume in a new three volume *Primer of Christianity* for the sixth forms of schools. The book is a lucid and attractively written outline of the history of the Church since Pentecost, and cannot fail to commend itself to the young and intelligent. There are parts of the story which a Congregationalist might regard as insufficiently stressed, but I imagine Anglicans and Roman Catholics would be no less critical of certain sections; and perhaps that illustrates the measure of the author's sincere attempt to be scrupulously fair in his judgments.

In *A Short History of the English Reformation* (Mowbrays, 3s. 6d.), Mr. Gordon Crosse has written a historical justification of the ecclesiastical settlements effected under Henry VIII and Elizabeth. The scholarly form of this book should not blind the reader to this frank bias, which is consistently maintained in a careful disparagement of both Roman Catholics and Nonconformists. The book contains much useful material in a brief compass, but its theme is unconvincing.

Dr. John R. H. Moorman's *Saint Francis of Assisi* (S.C.M., 7s. 6d.) is a brief biography of the one saint of the Mediæval Church who is universally known and revered. It is a useful book and contains a good deal of interesting material, and it gains in value by having been written by someone who is obviously inspired by real understanding of and sympathy for St. Francis. The value of the book would have been even more enhanced if it had been more systematic in its plan, and if it had been written with more regard to the chronological sequence of events in St. Francis' life.

ROBERT S. PAUL.

Nicholas Berdyaev—An Introduction to his Thought, by George Seaver (James Clarke, 6s.). Mr. George Seaver has followed up his very useful book on Albert Schweitzer with a study of Berdyaev, which although on a smaller scale than his earlier work, is equally competent and reliable. After an introduction in which the philosophical and theological background of Berdyaev's thought is clearly outlined, the author proceeds to expound Berdyaev's teaching regarding the relations of man to God, to Christ, to his fellow-men and to himself, and also deals with Berdyaev's conception of the relation of Time to Eternity. Berdyaev has had a powerful influence upon contemporary Christian philosophy. Yet he is a very elusive thinker. Mr. Seaver may be congratulated, therefore, on the perspicuity of an exposition which simplifies without distorting its subject matter. A generous allowance of long extracts from Berdyaev's works adds to the value of the book.

Our Religious Traditions, by Sterling P. Lamprecht, (Harvard U.P., 16s. 6d.). In this book Mr. Lamprecht discusses in turn Judaism, Catholicism and Protestantism as the three great, enduring religious traditions of Western civilization. The essence of Judaism he finds to be the notion of the Covenant and of the Covenant-Community. The genius of Catholicism consists in the idea "that there is needed a training ground, secure from the contingencies of human fortune, within which and within which alone, men may overcome the crudities of their original nature and be transformed into spiritual persons". Protestantism is "a fresh vision of a unique individual imperiously proclaiming his commitment and seeking justification . . . not in the procedures of the past, but in a new order which he hopes creatively to bring about". Judaism is essentially a covenanted community, but need not be racial and exclusive. Catholicism is essentially an institution, but need not be Romanist. As for Protestantism, that is Christian only by accident. These three great religious traditions can be cured of their parochialism and learn to value their own and respect one another's treasure, if only they will consent to admit the critical and refining spirit of Hellenism—which means in religion "what internationalism means in politics". Then they may co-operate to provide mankind with a new and stable moral foundation. There is much in this book that is interesting and profitable, but a thinker of Mr. Lamprecht's calibre should have got beyond the facile (and false) identification of Protestantism with an adventurous religious individualism.

H. F. LOVELL COCKS.

Dr. R. H. Lightfoot's *The Gospel Message of St. Mark* (O.U.P., 10s.) is a miscellaneous collection of studies of which the first four chapters consist of lectures delivered at the University College, Cardiff. A chapter on "The Cleansing of the Temple in St. John's Gospel" follows a most illuminating one on the cleansing in *Mark*. But perhaps the most interesting part of a valuable book is Chapter VII, "St. Mark's Gospel—Complete or Incomplete?" in which Dr. Lightfoot argues cogently for the view that the original Gospel ended at 16⁸, "for they were afraid".

In *The Religious Thought of St. John*, (S.P.C.K., 17s. 6d.), the Rev. E. K. Lee has written a very serviceable guide to Johannine theology. The Gospel and the Epistles of John are here assigned to John the Elder, who is regarded as the recipient of the teachings of the Apostle John. After an introduction on topics like the relation between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptics and the characteristics of the Gospel, the theology is discussed under the headings of God, The Word with God, The World Lying in Darkness, Salvation, Eternal Life, The Appropriation of Eternal Life, and Theology and Ethics. It is a real delight to read this book, a painstaking piece of work which can be warmly commended. If in some details, such as the date of the official Targums, which are certainly later than the time of Jesus (p. 96), Mr. Lee is not quite reliable, this is a minor criticism when the picture as a whole is so finely drawn.

Dr. J. W. Hunkin's *The New Testament: A Conspectus* (Duckworth, 6s.), is the most recent volume in the *Colet Library* series. It is a useful summary of the questions which arise from the various New Testament writings, and of the generally accepted conclusions of contemporary scholarship.

Mr. Edgar Newgass's *The Everlasting Gospel* (Charles Skilton, 12s. 6d.) is described in the sub-title as "A Panorama of the English Bible". The panorama extends from Caedmon down to the Bible in Basic English. There are brief but informative chapters, with a number of well reproduced photographs of pages from famous Bibles.

A. J. B. HIGGINS.

Chapters in a Life of Paul, by John Knox (Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, \$2.50). *A Fresh Approach to the New Testament*, by H. G. G. Herklots (S.C.M., 7s. 6d.). Dr. Knox has written an intriguing book about St. Paul. The New Testament gives us two sources of information about the great Apostle's life; viz., Acts and the Pauline Epistles. Scholars have generally recognized some tension between these two sources and on the whole have tended to interpret the Epistles in relationship to the more explicitly historical narrative of Acts. Dr. Knox now proposes on the other hand to take the Epistles as the primary data for reconstructing the outline of Paul's career. The resultant chronology is a very different one from that which has come to be accepted from previous discussions as approximately correct. Paul's conversion is dated 34 or 37 and his final visit to Jerusalem to take the offering, and his arrest, is dated in 53 or 54. It is possible to see the chronological order of the letters fitting into this scheme and it is not impossible to reconcile it with the chronology in Acts, though scholars will feel some hesitation about several points. Perhaps the most difficult explanation is the one Dr. Knox advances about Paul's appearance before Gallio in Acts 18.12. Gallio arrived at Corinth in July, 51, and if this be so, Dr. Knox's chronology is hopelessly out. Therefore it is suggested to us that either Luke is entirely mistaken in having Paul appear before Gallio, which is a drastic but not impossible suggestion; or that the incident has been misplaced from the second to the first missionary journey. Dr. Knox may not carry everyone with him in his conclusions, but he has advanced some considerations which no future scholar can afford to neglect. There is also a study in Pauline theology. Canon Herklots has written an introduction to the New Testament in terms of its missionary nature. It would, I think, be wrong to say that this is simply an attempt to get a new approach. Indeed it might well be said that he has come through to one of the essential points about the New Testament and its literature. The book is not written for the scholar, but the scholar ought to read it and it will be found of intriguing interest to any layman who wants an overall picture of the New Testament.

J. MARSH.

The series of Torch Commentaries becomes more and more impressive. We now have *Galatians* by Principal J. A. Allan, of Dunedin (S.C.M., 6s.). Here as usual exact scholarship is made effective in forthright exposition. We commend especially the interpretation of the difficult chapter 3. The author is not afraid to say of verse 16: "The argument is to us logically worthless . . ." That is honest criticism, though most commentators are not so frank; but Dr. Allan realizes that the expositor's task is not finished, and he goes on: "but it is theologically significant and embodies one of St. Paul's great conceptions". We have similar treatment of the allegory at the end of chapter 4. The strength of this commentary as of the series in general is in the exposition. A useful Introduction offers no new critical suggestions. The people addressed are the churches founded on St. Paul's first missionary journey. The early dating of the epistle is rejected, and the identity of the councils referred to in Acts 15 and Gal. 2 is maintained. But these matters are not allowed to take priority over the theological significance of Galatians.

The Bible from Within by A. G. Hebert (O.U.P., 8s. 6d.) is more popular than Fr. Hebert's other books and deals directly with a difficulty felt by working ministers: "How can we hear the Word of God spoken to us by this or that particular passage?" It proceeds on the assumption that "critical" questions are really preliminary to the true Bible study "from within". The book is mainly on the O.T., but there is one chapter on the N.T. fulfilment and a final chapter on the Christian use of the O.T.

The method is to take key sections of O.T. books, beginning with Creation, to indicate their meaning for their own time (e.g. the meaning of the Creation story of Gen.i for the 5th century Jew, probably in Babylon), and on the basis of that to show their derived significance today *for the Christian*. (The question of what additional meaning the passages have for the non-Christian is not considered, but Fr. Herbert would be justified in arguing that it is not to be expected that one who does not share the Christian faith could perceive the deepest meaning of the Christian Scriptures). The theme of divine purpose in history is well emphasized. There is no disparaging of critical scholarship and no concessions to Fundamentalism. The book is on the right lines in seeking a valid criterion of "spiritual" interpretation, and it is one which any preacher, ordained or lay, may be glad to possess.

In the End, God . . . by J. A. T. Robinson (J. Clarke, 6s.) contains clear and sometimes brilliant thinking about the Last Things. Dr. Robinson admits that the orthodox Christian teaching is not intellectually respectable in the judgment of the modern man, who does not see that there is anything more in eschatology than a doctrine of personal immortality. Traditional teaching about the End needs reinterpretation in the light of the knowledge of God as all-loving and almighty, and this means—in spite of all the creeds and councils, in spite of Calvin and Brunner—the ultimate redemption of all. This is no mere speculation, for Hell and moral decision are still realities: "Hell is still bounded by the "nevertheless" of the divine love. And that love must win". The Christian hope is not really concerned about the immediate issue of death for the individual, but about the final redeemed society, which is in one sense a restoration of conditions implied in Gen. 1, and in another sense the fuller realization of what God has already declared and done in Christ.

An Introduction to the New Testament by R. Heard (Black, 12s. 6d.) is a sound presentation of the results of N.T. critical study. It is a very judicious report and no startling new theories are propounded. Mr. Heard tends to adopt the conservative solution: e.g. he rejects the Proto-Luke hypothesis and favours the theory of oral tradition in the composition of the Gospels, particularly Luke and John; he also upholds the traditional authorship of James and I Peter. But his critical approach is seen in his treatment of the Johannine literature, where he rejects Dodd's view that the authors of Gospel and 1st Epistle are to be distinguished. After a general opening section and brief chapters on Canon and Text Heard deals successively with Gospels, Acts and the growth of the Church, Epistles and the teachings of the Church, and the Apocalyptic element. This arrangement shows a certain originality. The method also goes beyond purely literary analysis in giving more attention than is usual in Introductions to the developing theology of the early Church. Mr. Heard is, however, mainly concerned with the question of historical truth. In a careful chapter on the Life of Jesus he avoids the scepticism of some Form critics and affirms that "a generally truthful likeness" is possible: "What we can know of him as he lived on earth agrees with the Christian claim that the Christ of apostolic faith was in truth before his resurrection the Jesus of history". A useful feature are the suggestions for further reading attached to the various sections of this book.

The Home Book of Bible Quotations by Burton Stevenson (Allen and Unwin, 42s.) differs from a concordance in giving references in full; e.g. the Sermon on the Mount is printed *in extenso*. It includes also references to the O.T. Apocrypha and to the N.T. Apocrypha, though the particular collection referred to in this latter is not stated and citations are difficult to verify (what does II Hermas ii.1 mean, for example?) or incorrect (the

Ignatius reference under Adultery, for example). An entertaining but far from necessary book. Those who have Young's Concordance will not need this.

A less pretentious but possibly more useful book of the same sort is *The Greatness of God and the Dignity of Man* by P. Leonard (Skeffington, 8s. 6d.). This is an anthology of small excerpts from Christian writers which really does illustrate the title. Not all will learn equally from it, but it can be for many a real devotional help.

The Greeks and their Gods, by W. K. C. Guthrie (Methuen, 21s.), is a masterly book of obvious relevance for the understanding of the non-Jewish religious background of early Christianity. It reveals its author as one of our foremost historians of religion: he is the University Orator and a lecturer in Classics at Cambridge. The book is not, however, one for scholars only, or for those only who have preserved their Greek from rust! (Greek citation is kept to footnotes.) It is a study of Greek ideas of the relation of man to God, and its method is to trace that development from pre-Homeric times to the culmination of Greek thought in Plato and Aristotle. A feature of the book is its scholarly precision and refusal to strain after new solutions. The author's own faith enables him to interpret ritual and its accompanying ideas which might remain merely antiquarian; and he constantly brings out the significance in terms of fundamental religious concepts or paradox, e.g. man's awe of the divine and at the same time assumption of kinship with the divine. A profound and fascinating study.

Whitehall through the Centuries, by G. S. Dugdale (Phoenix Ho., 18s.), is a work of careful research with plentiful illustrations and references to authorities, appendices of dates and personalia, and a select bibliography, but withal a readable book and, to those with a modicum of historic sense, enthralling. We start with the Tudor palace which Henry VIII took from Wolsey with its galleries and gardens and the sundial which showed the time in 30 different ways. We see Latimer preaching before Edward VI and Charles playing tennis to keep his weight down. We learn of the fire of 1698 which changed the character of Whitehall, for since then it has not been a royal residence but a centre of administration, a development which actually began with the first Admiralty building of 1694. One might have expected more on this later period, but offices are less interesting than palaces. The Victoria Embankment added a space 100 yards wide between the older buildings and the river.

The Wings of Faith, by H. V. Martin, with a Foreword by Dr. H. F. Lovell Cocks (Lutterworth, 7s. 6d.). Dr. Martin's latest book is "a consideration of the nature and meaning of Christian faith in the light of the work of Soren Kierkegaard". The work is short, but a wealth of exposition is contained in its five chapters. Against conceptions of faith current in modern religious thinking, faith as wishful thinking, mystical feeling, religious intuition and so on, Dr. Martin sets Kierkegaard's central concern expressed in the question, "How am I to become a Christian?" The Gospel is God's active response to man's despair; it is a communication of existence, therefore faith concerns my individual relationship to Jesus Christ, the God-Man who, as the Absolute Paradox to human thought, challenges each one of us to the passionate venture of faith in Him. A book to be read in connection with any attempt at Christian advance.

James Martineau. Selections compiled by Alfred Hall. (The Lindsey Press, 7s. 6d.). Dr. Hall's collection of brief excerpts from the works of James Martineau conveys the delightful style of Martineau's prose, the quality of his thought, and covering a wide religious field, testifies to his

conception of the Nature of Religion, the Immanence of God. Scripture, Reason and Faith, Church Life, Pain and Suffering, Personal Immortality, and other themes. The work aims at reviving interest in Martineau's thought. It is perhaps true, as the complier suggests, that Martineau's influence may have waned because the disturbed state of the world is not conducive to contemplation of the ultimate truths of God and the soul, but a further reason may be sought in that interpretation of Christianity which is indicated by Martineau's proposition: "The Incarnation is true, not of Christ exclusively, but of Man universally, and God everlastingly."

Pascal's Short Life of Christ. Princeton Pamphlets No. 5. Translated with an Introduction by Emile Cailliet and John C. Blankenagel. (Princeton Theological Seminary. 75 cents.) It has been suggested that Pascall regarded his Short Life of Christ as the essential introduction to that vindication of Christianity into which the *Pensées* were being elaborated. The *Life* is drawn harmoniously both from Synoptic and Fourth Gospel sources, and illustrates well both Pascal's use of the Bible (Vulgate) and his methods in the study of it.

Johann Georg Hamann: An Existentialist. By Walter Lowrie. (Princeton Pamphlets No. 6. Princeton Theol. Seminary. 75 cents.) The Collected Works and full-length biographies of J. G. Hamann have long been published in Germany, as well as studies comparing him with Kierkegaard. But apart from a few short articles in English, this is the first and—it must be added—a most stimulating introduction to that remarkable personality and thinker of the 18th century, who has been called "the Magus of the North".

Whose Leaf Shall Not Wither. By James M. Lichliter (Skeffington, 8s. 6d.) Described as "a stimulating exposition of the fundamental truths of religion for the modern mind" Mr. Lichliter's book is colloquial in style, profuse of illustration, and written from the viewpoint of theological humanism. The author treats of the purpose of religion, the nature of man, the reality of God, the contemporary Jesus; of the growth of personality and of the Kingdom of God; and appears to interpret spiritual truth in accordance with the idea of progress, a category attributable to Rousseau and Darwin rather than the New Testament. CONRAD BONIFAZI.

W. Norman Pittenger: *The Historic Faith and a Changing World.* (New York: O.U.P., 15s.) Dr. Pittenger admirably surveys the contemporary American scene from the point of view of an Episcopalian theologian who occupies a middle position between liberalism and neo-orthodoxy, and for whom the word "Protestant" has to appear within inverted commas. He examines critically the presuppositions underlying the American way of life and he gives a searching analysis of the value and shortcomings of neo-orthodoxy in meeting the situation. This was very well worth doing and it is well done. He argues with great cogency for what he calls a "dynamic orthodoxy" propagated by means of "cells" of convinced people on the Communist model, but he leaves us to guess whether these cells are to be local groups gathered from all the churches or are to be simply denominational units. He would like to have primary and secondary schools set up by the Church and his argument at this point shows the measure of difference between the situation in the U.S.A. and here in Britain. He clearly believes—and shows good reason for his belief—that the Episcopal Church is the real hope of American Christianity and nowhere from first to last is there any mention of the Bible as a factor in the "historic faith".

A. VICTOR MURRAY.

Signs of Hope in a Century of Despair, by Elton Trueblood (S.C.M., 7s. 6d.). This distinguished American Quaker is convinced that "the

majority of our people are almost wholly ignorant of the creative forces which are appearing at the middle of this century as genuine signs of hope in a time of general despair" (p. 9); and he devotes this course of lectures to making good this lack in our general knowledge. After a diagnosis—yet another—of our times, Dr. Trueblood discusses the ecumenical movement, the vitality of new theology, the emergence of lay religion, and the growth of redemptive societies. He argues well; and if his whole argument is not quite convincing, the general impression is refreshing. Perhaps he makes it seem a trifle too easy to be hopeful, but he also makes it clear that it would be sinful and shortsighted not to hope.

JOHN HUXTABLE.

The aim of *St. Francis in Italian Painting*, by George Kaftal (Allen & Unwin, 12s. 6d.), in the series of 'Ethical and Religious Classics of East and West', is advertised as being "to show that the religious and ethical values that St. Francis was striving after are as essential today as they were in his time". It can hardly be said to achieve that aim, though it admirably lives up to its title. Besides thirty-nine illustrations from paintings of the saint's life and legend, accompanied by extracts from the medieval 'lives', it contains much historical information in slight compass.

K. M. HAMILTON.

Testament for Social Science, by Barbara Wootton (Allen & Unwin, 15s.). The social sciences are emerging from infancy to virulent adolescence, and the author believes that they provide the sole hope of mankind in solving the problem of our relative incompetence to employ wisely the products of the great achievements of technology. She discusses the relationships of the social sciences with the arts, with morals, and with religion and philosophy, and shows the ways in which these may obstruct the application of the scientific method to human affairs. If any Christian still doubts that the social sciences are implacably determined to cosh religion with a lead pipe of psychology their eyes will be opened by this extremely interesting essay, written by one who is sold heart and soul (to use stupid non-scientific terminology) to the business of viewing humanity through analytical lenses. Your reviewer, who is of course not an individual, but a *H. sapiens* with I.Q. *a*, mental age *b*, and a liability dx/dy at any age of watching the Boat Race (rowed, not by individuals but by *H. Sapiens* with I.Q.s etc.), regrets that "the shackles placed upon the freedom of the human mind by the various superstitions, not excepting Christianity" did not prevent his reading it with enjoyment; but in the temptation to depersonalise humans and regard them as nothing but data he sees only the gravest danger ahead.

ROGER PILKINGTON.

NEW EDITIONS

The Rev. Ernest A. Payne's *The Free Church Tradition in the Life of England* (S.C.M., 8s. 6d.) is now in a third edition, revised with some additional passages and with the bibliographies brought up to date.

G. F. N.

Exchange difficulties threatened the availability of the *American Revised Standard Version of the New Testament* (1946). It is greatly to the credit of Nelson & Sons that they have produced an edition in Edinburgh and are able to offer it at 8s. 6d.

E. C. B.

SMALL BOOKS

What is Existentialism? Roger Bailey. (S.P.C.K. 1s.) *Existentialism and Christian Thought*. Roger Troisfontaines, S.J. (Dacre Press. 4s. 6d.) These two small books can be recommended as guides to the fashionable philosophy of the moment. Dr. Bailey's pamphlet is a marvel of concise and clear exposition. Father Troisfontaines has written a more substantial essay which is penetrative and sympathetic criticism of Existentialism from the point of view of classical Christian philosophy.

H. F. LOVELL COCKS.

In his Dr. Williams' Lecture, "*The Book of Common Prayer and the Worship of the Non-Anglican Churches*". (O.U.P., 2s. 6d.) Dr. W. D. Maxwell discusses the influence of the Book of Common Prayer on the worship of the non-liturgical churches. This lecture is a storehouse of information about the various service-books that have been published for English and Scottish use since the Reformation. "From 1817 onwards, the direct influence of the Prayer Book predominates in the great majority of non-Anglican Service Books". J. M. TODD.

In *Barriers Down* Elizabeth F. Howard (Friends Home Service Committee, 3s. 6d.) tells how since the war she, with other Friends, has been using a guest house in Bad Pyrmont, Germany, as a home and rest centre for D.P.s and many other victims of war and tyranny. The book is a moving testimony to how Christian disinterestedness finds a way through. What one would like is more information about what the German Churches themselves, Evangelical and Catholic, are doing to help their countrymen face their social problems today.

The S.C.M. Press offers us two more *Servants of the Universal Church* (1s. each). Basil Matthews in *Ambassador of Christ* presents John R. Mott as one of the greatest Christian forces of this century. The book reads with a thrill and challenges with the question: Is my life as fully at the service of Christ as it might be? In *T. Z. Koo* the Bishop of Hongkong does not make such a graphic impression, but it is good to have this booklet about a remarkable Chinese Christian.

The Dazzling Darkness by Guy Bowden (Longmans, 8s. 6d.) is a more than usually satisfying examination of the meaning and possibilities of prayer. It avoids the assumption that we ought to be more religious than we are, assumes in fact that prayer is often dull; and speaks to this condition with real insight and theological depth.

Practical Christianity is six broadcast talks by Dr. W. Robinson in "Lift up your hearts" last September (Christian Action Fellowship, Birmingham, 1s.).

A Book of Prayers for Women, by Mary Hodgkin (Methuen, 4s.) has women's meetings in view, and the fact that many supporters of these do not attend Sunday worship.

The Gospel in the South Pacific, by J. W. Dovey, is a useful survey, with statistics, of the achievements and present prospects of Christian missionary activity in the South Pacific. E. C. B.

In *The Problem of Christ in the Twentieth Century* (O. U. P., 7s. 6d.), the Dean of St. Paul's has expounded his belief in the inadequacy of our present understanding of the meaning of the Incarnation, and his attempts to use the conceptions of *libido*, telepathy, extra sensory perception, pattern and inspiration in the framing of a more adequate doctrine. These lectures exhibit learning, clarity, courage, honesty and bluntness of speech. But these qualities are no substitute for spiritual perceptiveness. If the fundamental issues involved in biblical interpretation and theological affirmation can be illuminated by modern psychological or philosophical concepts there is no ground for not using them. But it is much clearer that Dr. Matthews thinks that we ought to use these terms, than that they do in fact illuminate the meaning of the Person of Christ.

The Report of conversations between Representatives of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Representatives of the Evangelical Free Churches of England, entitled *Church Relations in England* (S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d.) is an important document because it contains the clearest statement of difficulties which arise if the Church of England and the Free Churches try to understand one another and seek a common mind. The report is commended persuasively by the Principal of Mansfield College in a pamphlet entitled *Congregationalism and Episcopacy* (Independent Press, 1s.). These are high matters on which we must think carefully and wait before making up our mind too quickly. H. CUNLIFFE-JONES.

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

London Quarterly and Holborn Review (January). Rev. D. R. Davies exposes "The Great Lie of Communism"—its alleged care for the poor and under-privileged; Rev. N. Adcock treats philosophically "The Mystery of the Holy Trinity". Dr. W. W. Sweet writes on "American Methodists and Other Churches", and Rev. N. W. Mumford on "The Administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the Methodist Church after the Death of John Wesley". Other contributions include "The Coming Great Church" (Dr. H. P. van Dusen), "The Realm of Faith" (Rev. G. H. Findlay), and "The Humanity of Eden Phillpotts" (Mr. C. Timms).

Expository Times (December and January). The useful series, "Living Issues in Biblical Scholarship" is concluded by Rev. D. R. Ap-Thomas ("Pentateuchal Criticism: Some Recent Trends"). Rev. Geraint V. Jones assesses the work of Karl Mannheim; should he be regarded as sociologist or prophet? Dr. Matthew Black says much that needs saying about "Ministerial Training and Vocational Needs"; his plea that the older academic disciplines have a contemporary relevance is both powerful and timely. "The Authority of the Bible Today" by Professor W. Robinson and "Philip Doddridge (1702-1751)" by Rev. F. H. Durnford both repay reading.

International Review of Missions (January). The editorial survey of the year maintains its high traditions; it runs to 76 pages, is characterized by catholicity and readability, and can fairly be described as indispensable reading to anyone wishing to be knowledgeable about the present-day affairs of the Church. In addition, there are articles on "Indian Communism and the Indian Church"; "Christian Higher Education in the New India" and "Religious Freedom in Indonesia".

Modern Churchman (September). An important number, containing the papers read to the Annual Conference of Modern Churchmen under the general title, "Towards Christian Reformation: Reassessment and Restatement". Canon R. D. Richardson, Rev. D. E. H. Whiteley, Prof. A. D. Ritchie and Rev. T. Wigley are among the contributors. The Conference Sermon by Dr. W. R. Inge is included. (January.) Dr. E. W. Barnes covers familiar ground in his address to the British Association: "Science, Religion and Moral Judgments". Canon H. K. Luce writes on "Religious Education and the Churches". Dr. W. R. Matthews pays a graceful tribute to the late Bishop of Truro. Mr. John Rowland gives an encouraging account of "A Layman's Reading".

Review and Expositor (January). A rather hackneyed subject—"An Adapted Evangelism"—is tackled convincingly by Prof. G. S. Dobbins. Prof. T. C. Smith gives an exposition of the parable of the Good Samaritan; Dr. A. D. Belden has a devotional article entitled "When God Disturbs".

Theology Today (October). An interesting issue, with much virile writing on important themes. An editorial defines the current theological task in terms of a four-fold interpretation—the universe in which we dwell, the historical experience of the human race, the social changes of our time, and the inner struggles of the individual human heart. Dr. C. H. Dodd's "The Foundations of Christian Theology" is outstanding. "The Christian Answer to Communism" by Prof. J. C. Bennett and "The Interpreter and the Nativity Stories" by Prof. P. S. Minear are notable.

Review of Religion (November). The chief articles are Prof. R. L. Patterson's "McTaggart's Conception of the Beatific Vision" and Prof. F. P. Bargebuhr's "Ibn Gabirol's Poem Beginning 'Ahavtikha . . .'". Prof. F. E. White writes on "Unorthodox Tendencies in Tennyson". H. CUNLIFFE JONES.

Harvard Theological Review (October). The most important of its three articles is by G. W. Anderson expounding Some Aspects of the Uppsala School of Old Testament Study, and particularly the views of I. Engnell, who challenges the Wellhausen theory of the composition of the O.T. which has hitherto been accepted by O.T. scholars.

The Huntington Library Quarterly (May-August-November). The November number has a survey by J. E. Wallace Sterling, the President of Stanford University, of the century since the birth of Mr. H. E. Huntington, who founded the Library.

ALSO RECEIVED

Nouvelle Revue Théologique (June-January). The December issue contains the Latin text with French translation of the Bull proclaiming the bodily assumption of the Virgin Mary, and an article on the theology of it by Dom Capelle.

World Christian Digest (October-January).

Evangelical Quarterly (October).